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Art. I. *The Principles of Christian Evidence illustrated*, by an Examination of Arguments subversive of Natural Theology and the Internal Evidence of Christianity, advanced by Dr. T. Chalmers, in his "Evidence and Authority of the Christian Revelation." By Duncan Mearns, D.D. Professor of Theology, King's College and University, Aberdeen. 12mo. Price 5s. 1818.

IF works of pure science be excepted, there will be found but a comparatively small portion of didactic writing devoted entirely to illustrate or establish truth. From the time that writing first became the vehicle of instruction, innumerable forms of error have prevailed among men. Their minds have been imbued with opinions, absurd or pernicious. It has, therefore, been necessary for those persons who, by patient investigation, felicity of genius, or the signal favour of Providence, may have acquired an uncommon knowledge of universal truth, to expend their efforts chiefly in exposing error and prejudices. They have been obliged to turn their light on the spectres and illusions spread over the regions of thought, and infesting human life. The most essential service which they could render to their fellows, has been, sometimes, to bring into contempt and reprobation, a system of mischievous absurdities, that may have acquired a dangerous ascendancy over the human mind—as when the author of the *Provincial Letters* overwhelmed the pernicious casuistry of the Jesuits; at other times, to refute a fundamental error, which being generally adopted in speculation, may have been replete with disastrous consequences—as when Reid shewed the fallacy of the supposition, that perception and other functions of the intellect are performed by the intervention of ideas; at others, again to establish a general principle of great practical utility, the reception of which a host of inveterate prejudices may have obstructed—as when Locke proved that every person ought to be tolerated in the practice of his religion. In effecting such objects, there must

be produced a great mass of writing, which, when it has accomplished its purpose, a man may read and not receive any accession of clearness to his views, any stability to his convictions, or any energy to his sentiments.

It is, however, impossible to conceive of any limits to the accumulation of this sort of writing; but in the present state of human nature, the production of it is of immense utility. As no good is unmixed, light, in men of the first order of intellect, is blended with darkness, correct views with misapprehensions. The powers of illustration and persuasion, which qualify them to inform, raise, and delight our minds, enable them successfully to insinuate their mistakes, and procure a kind of homage to the most unreasonable opinions. There is a magic in the taste, genius, and eloquence, with which they embellish the least tenable positions, that confounds and overpowers common understandings. While, therefore, the sum of human errors, is lessened, on the one hand, by inquiry and reflection, it receives, on the other, continual additions from the unfounded assumptions and fancies of great men. Exploded doctrines are revived in a rather different form, or new modes of erroneous speculation are brought into vogue. To purify truth from the contaminations which it thus suffers from the best gifted of men, to detect and expose unfounded imaginations which the authority and influence of rare talents may have diffused, is a task, which, though it may require much merely temporary writing, can never be safely neglected.

A service of this nature has, if we mistake not, been performed by Dr. Mearns, in the present little work. The treatise on the *Evidence and Authority of the Christian Revelation*, attracted, on its first appearance, a considerable degree of attention; and, in consequence of the extraordinary celebrity which the author has subsequently acquired, chiefly by his brilliant *Discourses on the Modern Astronomy*, it has been very generally read. Throughout this volume there breathes an earnest piety, and a profound reverence for holy writ; while, from the tone of confidence which the Author maintains, in all his affirmations and reasonings, together with his very dazzling eloquence, it is more adapted than any other defence of Christianity, written in English, to produce, if not a stable conviction, at least a strong impression on the popular mind. Dr. Chalmers chose to deviate from the line of argument usually pursued by the advocates of Christianity. He rejected the principles of natural theology, as beyond the cognizance of human faculties, and the internal evidence of Christianity, as presumption. By this means, he 'conceived the argument (from 'miracles) might be made to assume a more powerful and impressive aspect,' while it would preclude all objections to the principles contained in the Christian record. Although this

work was generally received for what it professed to be, an application of the inductive logic to the Christian evidence, to those who were versed in the history of human opinions, and had studied the elements which enter into all our convictions, it appeared very singular that an intelligent Christian should profess to adopt, 'in the spirit of the soundest philosophy,' the utmost extravagance of the scepticism of Bayle and Hume, and that he should endeavour to produce, by reasoning, a persuasion of the truth of Christianity, after having affirmed the utter inability of reason to deduce, from the appearances of nature and providence, the existence of God, or the character of his administration. The dangerous assumptions which pervade the Evidence and Authority of the Christian Revelation, occasioned the present publication, which is designed to expose the fallacy of the reasonings by which Dr. C. has attempted to set aside the conclusions of natural theology, and to establish the philosophical, as well as scriptural character, of those principles that form the substratum of the Christian Evidence. The learned Professor has, in our apprehension, been quite successful. He has shewn very clearly that the objections to natural religion which Dr. C. professed to draw from the Baconian method of philosophizing, owe their whole plausibility to imperfect and erroneous views of the inductive philosophy; and that, while the evidences of natural and revealed religion are so thoroughly interwoven with one another, that he who subverts one part, destroys the whole, they constitute a case of the most just and rigid application of those principles which regulate our belief, in the ordinary transactions of life, as well as in the most refined and remote deductions of science. We shall endeavour to trace the course of his argument, though it lies through a tract obscure and little frequented.

The radical assumption of Dr. C.'s reasoning, is, that, independent of revelation, it is impossible to ascertain the existence of God, or any thing respecting the character of his administration. 'The only safe and competent evidence that can be appealed to,' he represents to be, 'the Christian miracles.' 'There is perhaps nothing,' he says, 'more thoroughly beyond the cognizance of the human faculties, than the truths of religion. To assign the character of the Divine administration from what occurs to our observation, is absurd.* From this principle it follows, that Christianity is destitute of internal evidence. For if it be impossible, from sources independent of Scripture, to evince the existence of a supreme intellect, wise, good, and just, the character and tendency of Revelation serves not in the least

* Evidence and Authority of the Christian Revelation. pp. 226, 235, 206.

to establish its truth. All religious systems, considered in themselves, are equally entitled to credit. In rigid conformity, therefore, to his primary doctrine, Dr. C. 'holds by the total insufficiency of natural religion to pronounce upon the intrinsic merits of any revelation. Reason is not entitled to sit in judgment over those internal evidences, which many a presumptuous theologian has attempted to derive from the reason of the thing, or from the agreement of the doctrine with the fancied character and attributes of the Deity*.'

The degree to which the evidence of Christianity is impaired by this extraordinary mode of defending it, may easily be estimated, if it is considered, that it renders it impossible for us to corroborate our confidence in Revelation, either by the accordance of its doctrine with the results of experience and observation, the adaptation of the economy which it unfolds to the wants, hopes, and fears of humanity, or its experienced efficacy in purifying the mind from its corruptions, adorning it with the noblest virtues, and inspiring it with immortal hopes.

The evidence which the world furnishes for the existence of an Eternal Mind, has usually been considered stronger than that which evinces the truth of Revelation. As the cogency of both depends on the same principles, he who rejects the former, indirectly at least subverts the latter. Formidable attempts have been made, it is well known, to invalidate the testimony which establishes the miraculous facts of the Christian record. Hume contended, (and Gibbon considered the argument as the securest retreat of infidelity,) that experience of the uniform course of nature afforded so strong a presumption against miraculous events, that no testimony could justify a belief in their occurrence. This 'objection, which stands in the very threshold of the Christian argument†,' and which appeared to be neutralized by the presumption that the Deity might, on an occasion of sufficient dignity, deviate from the usual course of his agency, Dr. C. leaves in all its force. But if it be granted that even on his principles the Christian testimony is satisfactory, an additional process will be found essential to produce a conviction that Christianity is true. This process, usually overlooked, most certainly is worthy of examination.

The utmost effect of the historical evidence of Christianity, is to place us in the situation of the original witnesses of the miraculous events. That the events are miraculous, is not indicated by our senses, but deduced by our reason. From particular facts we infer a course of nature proceeding by general laws; and when facts of a miraculous nature occur to our ob-

* Evidence and Authority of the Christian Revelation. pp. 221, 251.

† Paley.

ervation, we infer, in like manner, that the operation of those laws has been interrupted. In virtue of the primordial law of belief, that every effect must have a cause, we infer, from an event strictly miraculous, the interposition of God, by the same steps as those by which we deduce his existence and intelligence from the usual appearances of nature.

‘Reason reaches the conclusion, that a cause sufficient to the production of phenomena implying a suspension of the laws of nature, can be nothing inferior to the power of Him by whom these laws were established. By the further investigation of principles, combined with observation of the order of nature, reason concludes, that the cause which operates the production of these supernatural phenomena, is, and must be, the power, either mediately or immediately exerted, of the one Supreme Lord of Nature.’ p. 43.

Although there is no necessary connexion between miraculous events and the truth of propositions, yet as the ostensible agent appeals to them in proof of his doctrines, we may reason that because God is veracious and omniscient, he cannot affix his seal to imposture. The principles concerned in this process, which seems perfectly legitimate, are rejected by Dr. C. as being ‘of no more value than the fooleries of an infant;’ and accordingly he has precluded himself, if he reasons consistently, from evincing the truth of Christianity, granting that the miracles to which appeal is made, were actually wrought.

To shew how powerful and impressive an aspect he had made the Christian evidence to assume, Dr. C. imagines, as the subject of experiment, an ideal personage, who, after carefully observing the phenomena of the universe, sees nothing in them which can warrant him to believe in the existence of the living and intelligent Author of Nature, and who hears the innumerable testimonies which all things, great and small, emit in favour of their Maker, without the least leaning to the conviction that there is a God. Without remarking on the shocking improbability of this fiction, or the dubious tendency of representing the understanding of this imaginary person, as in a high state of preparation for the reception of Christianity in a pure form, it is sufficient to remark that, if he acknowledges the occurrence of the Christian miracles, he is not bound, by any principles which he is supposed to entertain, to admit the inference which our Christian advocate deduces from them. If he has rejected the evidence which the universe supplies for the existence of God, on the pretext that appearances of design afford no proof of an intelligent cause, as the preternatural phenomena render not the Deity an object of experience, he will not perceive in them any manifestation of the Eternal Mind. Ordinary and extraordinary events furnish the same kind of evidence. To draw a conclusion from either of them, we must reason from the effect to the cause, a

mode of ratiocination which Dr. C. deems the ideal atheist reasonable in rejecting as illegitimate.

'There are two conclusions, which our author, in his loose manner of reasoning, here presses upon his atheist, as if they were strictly interchangeable; the existence of a God, and "of a power superior to nature." To us whose preconceptions are so different from those of the negative atheist, the distinction may not at first view be very apparent. We are accustomed to consider supernatural power as inseparably connected with intelligence and with moral character; but to the mind of such an atheist, no such connection would appear to exist. Should it therefore be admitted that he finds reason to conclude from the phenomena in question, that there exists "a power superior to nature," he is still very far from finding evidence of the existence of a God.' p. 53.

But the atheist, having 'nothing before him but the consciousness of what passes within, and the observation of what 'passes without,' cannot have any conception of power, the notion of power not being supplied either by our senses, or by consciousness. It being impossible, therefore, to convince this imaginary person of the existence of a supernatural power, by the miraculous phenomena themselves, it may be considered whether the explanation of them, afforded by the ostensible agent, will achieve his conviction. That 'claims upon our belief were 'accumulated to an unexampled degree in the person of Jesus of 'Nazareth,' is gladly acknowledged.

'But such is the perverse force of that principle on which the atheism now under consideration is rested, that it rejects as 'a non-entity of the imagination,' every such ground of belief. So wide is the range of that law of belief by which we are impelled, from the character of effects, to infer the existence and nature of efficient causes; and so intimately connected is the natural argument from design, with every department of Christian evidence; that the principles which may be assumed to justify resistance to that law, and rejection of the conclusions of natural theology, are found every where to oppose the Christian argument. Thus, how vain is it to urge upon a mind which disclaims the authority of this law of belief, the credibility of testimony, and the high moral character of those by whom it is emitted. If power be a word absolutely without meaning,—how can "veracity," "worth," "benevolence," "constancy," be any thing else than mere "nonentities of the imagination?" "We do not avail ourselves," says Dr. C. "of any other principle than what an atheist will acknowledge!" And he instantly proceeds to avail himself of principles which the atheist does not acknowledge; nay, principles which Dr. C. himself cannot acknowledge, if his own reasoning against the conclusions of natural theology are good for any thing. It is vain to press the admission of conclusions upon grounds which have been previously affirmed to be fallacious; and the existence of those qualities which give credibility to the testimony of the witnesses, can be

proved upon no other principle than that which has been rejected.' pp. 56, 57.

If we are not allowed to reason from the effect to the existence and character of the cause, and consequently to infer the being and attributes of the great Agent, from his operations, we can never establish even the existence of those who performed the Christian miracles, as moral and intelligent beings, much less can we be entitled, from their peculiar intellectual and moral character, to entertain any proposition, on the strength of their testimony.

If the ideal atheist should allow the legitimacy of reasoning from the effect to the cause, but reject the great argument for the existence of God, because he finds not appearances of design in nature, miracles will not work his conversion. The ordinary and the extraordinary appearances afford evidence of the same nature.

'Phenomena are submitted to his observation, and he is desired to infer the existence of a cause in which intelligence and power are combined. That the phenomena of the first class display numerous and striking appearances of intelligence and power, has almost ceased to be a subject of dispute; yet the atheist perceives no such appearances; his understanding, nevertheless, is in a high state of preparation, it seems, for perceiving such appearances in the other class of phenomena. His negative mind can discover in the processes of nature, no appearances which give even probability to the conclusion, that they were instituted by any thing different from the inert instruments employed in conducting them; nor from investigation of nature's laws, can *his* understanding perceive any traces of a power higher than that of the subjects of these laws; yet from the counteraction of these laws and processes, he is expected immediately to perceive the existence of God. On the "blank surface" of his mind, observation of the celestial mechanism has inscribed no trace of a powerful and skilful Architect; he has viewed the admirable construction of the planetary system, has investigated the composition of the forces employed, and the mode of dispensing light and heat; and he can find no more reason for concluding that a Cause in which power and skill are combined exists, than for the random "assertion, that in some distant region, there are tracts of space, which teem only with animated beings, who without being supported on a firm surface, have the power of spontaneous movement in free spaces." Yet this is the person whose intellect is in the best possible condition for being convinced of the existence of such a cause by "a voice from heaven!" He has contemplated the skilful mechanism of the human body,—the various combinations of parts united for the production of a common end, and that end the welfare of the whole. He has sought a solution of the great question of a First Cause; he has applied to the solution of that question, the declination of atoms, the appetencies of molecules, the energies of nervous fibrillæ, with all the other famous hypotheses of a similar nature, on the one hand; and on the other, the almighty

power of an Allwise and Benignant Cause; and has maintained unmoved the strict neutrality of his mind. And yet, with all this unnatural dulness of perception, he no sooner observes "health" given "to the" "diseased on the impulse of a volition," than he immediately perceives "the existence of a God." That mind which judges it neither probable nor improbable that *life* is originally given by a *living* Being, is in the best condition for admitting the existence of that Being, from having witnessed restoration of life! And the understanding of that person, who having examined the admirable construction of the eye, finds no probability in the conclusion that it was made *to see with*, is in a high state of preparation for being convinced of the truth of theistical conclusions, by the miraculous gift of sight to the blind.' pp. 66—69.

But if it were allowed, that the imaginary atheist might, consistently with his principles, find reason, from miraculous events, to believe in an Invisible Cause sufficient to suspend certain laws of nature, he would have no means to ascertain whether this Cause were omnipotent, or not; whether it were, or were not intelligent and of a moral character; the same as the power which regulates nature, or different from it. Nor could the ignorance of the atheist, on those and kindred questions, be removed by the testimony of the ostensible agent in the transaction; for, as the atheist's confidence in human testimony is derived solely from experience, it is impossible he should have any conception of the credit due to the testimony of a rational being, different in any respect from mere man. Of such beings he has had no experience. If it were supposed that he might find reason to believe, on the testimony of the ostensible agent, that he was commissioned by the Invisible Cause, whose existence some miraculous event has been allowed to evince, the atheist, who is perfectly ignorant of the character of this Cause, it is most obvious, has no rational grounds for believing the information imparted by the ostensible agent.

' He has no reason to believe that the agent is not himself deceived. He believes therefore in the truth of a message of which he knows nothing, *because* that message is sent by a Power of whose *supremacy* he knows nothing,—of whose relation to man as his Creator or Governor he knows nothing,—and of whose moral character he has no conception. "Though the power which presided there, should be "an arbitrary, an unjust, or a malignant Being, all this may startle a "Deist, but it will not prevent a consistent Atheist from acquiescing "in any legitimate inference, to which the miracles of the gospel, "viewed in the simple light of historical facts, may chance to carry "him."* Now the "legitimate inference to which these facts have "chanced to carry" the Atheist, is this,—that a message sent by a "Power which may be a malignant Being" is, certainly true, for no other reason than that it is sent by such a Power.' p. 77.

* Evidence and Authority &c. p. 230.

Such is the powerful and impressive aspect which Dr. C. has made the Christian evidence to assume !

As Dr. C.'s principles thus subvert the whole evidence of Christianity, it might be useless to consider whether they enable us, without discussing their reasonableness, to dispose of infidel objections, did not the inquiry serve to illustrate the internal evidence of our religion, and the theological conclusions from which it arises. Although Dr. C. says 'we have no right to sit in judgement over the information of heaven's ambassador,' and, consequently, there might seem to be no scope for objections to the substance of a revelation attested by miracles, he subjects the above position to such limitations, as still to be obliged to discuss the usual objections to the Scriptures. If the statements of the ambassador were inconsistent with observation or experience, he allows that they ought to be rejected. He alludes to miracles, as 'a special mark' or 'watchword which we previously knew could be given by none but God.' This previous knowledge is of great extent, embracing

'among other points, that no unintelligent principle can operate according to any other laws than those which regulate the present system of things on this globe—that there are no beings superior to man, excepting God, capable of suspending certain laws of nature—and that it is contrary to reason to suppose that two or more divine Principles or Intelligences, share the government of the universe.' p. 86.

Dr. C. appeals to the sense which his readers have of right and wrong, in proof of some of his positions, and, by consequence, allows that moral distinctions are not relative to the human intellect and condition, but eternal and immutable. He adduces the unity obvious in the doctrine and sentiments of Jesus Christ, as a most striking evidence of the truth of his religion. It follows, therefore, that if it were objected, that the statements of revelation do not accord with the results of our own observation, or consciousness, or that the conclusions of natural theology essential to the validity of the evidence of miracles, are not sustained by reason, or that the Scripture ascribes such qualities to God, or inculcates such maxims of duty, as are inconsistent with our clearest moral perceptions, or that it contains heterogeneous and contradictory doctrines, Dr. C. is not entitled, on his own principles, to dismiss such objections, without entering into a discussion of their reasonableness.

Shortly after the Evidence and Authority of the Christian Revelation appeared, Dr. C. had occasion to expose what he deemed a formidable objection to Christianity. It might have been expected that he would seize this opportunity, to shew with what facility his novel mode of sustaining the Christian revelation, enabled him, without discussion, to dispose

of infidel objections. Far otherwise. That the evidence of natural religion is conclusive, enters as an element into the reasoning of his Discourses on the Modern Astronomy. He plainly takes it for granted, that nature affords sufficient evidence not only of the being and power of God, but of his wisdom and goodness. We read of *seeing* 'the evidences of Divine wisdom and care spread in exhaustless profusion around us;' of the principles of natural religion as 'undeniable truths, lying within the field of human observation;' of its being 'a most Christian exercise to extract a sentiment of piety from the appearances of nature.' The Author appeals to 'the personal history of every individual,' for evidence of a particular providence; and he speaks of having *experience* of the government of God, of perceiving 'in the wisdom and goodness around us that the thoughts of God are not as our thoughts, nor his ways as our ways;' of 'prints of design and benevolence in the scene' of nature, of microscopic objects filled and animated with evidences of the Divine glory, of 'impressive proofs' of the particular attention of God to the minutest of his works.* He disposes of the infidel objection, not by saying that Christianity has been proved to be true, not by opposing 'the obstinacy of the fact to the elegance of the speculation,' but by applying to it the analogy first illustrated by the profound and sagacious Butler. This tried weapon, which Dr. C. had degraded into a mere *argumentum ad hominem*, a fallacious mode of reasoning, is the instrument of his splendid victory. He readily believes in the mission of the Eternal Son of God for the salvation of the world, because it 'is no more than what he sees lying scattered, in numberless examples before him, and running through the whole line of his recollections.'

To recommend his mode of defending Christianity, Dr. C. represented it as the application of the inductive philosophy to the Christian Evidence. This philosophy, if we may credit him, considers experience, not in the vague and popular, but in the rigorous and philosophic acceptance of that term, as the only source of human knowledge. The light of experience being our only guide, as 'we have no experience whatever of the invisible God,' as 'we are precluded, by the nature of the subject, from the benefit of observation,' our ignorance ought to restrain us from asserting that God exists, 'and much more from ascribing to him any attributes,' or holding 'any certain conclusions, as to the character of the Divine administration.'

Not to dwell on the palpable contradiction between this repre-

* "A Series of Discourses on the Christian Revelation, viewed in connection with the Modern Astronomy." pp. 8. 9. 21. 106. 110. 113. 116.

sentation and the sentences already adduced from the Discourses on the Modern Astronomy, it is not a little curious that the objection here stated, to the proof which nature affords of the being of God, was obviated, when the proof was first exhibited in words, by the father of moral philosophy. "I see not," said Aristodemus, "the architects of what takes place here." "Nor," replied Socrates, "do you see your mind, which disposes of your body*."

If experience is the only source of human knowledge, it will be impossible to support Christianity by external evidence, because experience alone does not enable us to conceive of a cause, to ascertain the existence of our fellow creatures, as intellectual or moral beings, or to determine whether any credit is due to their testimony.

It is impossible to manage an inductive process by the light of experience merely; for, without an additional element, we cannot confide in the continuance of the laws of nature, or trace the connexion of effects with their physical causes. Dr. C. will readily allow, that the process by which he has shewn that the great masses of the universe are occupied with living, intelligent, and moral agents, is strictly inductive. But the first step of that induction cannot be taken, without combining with the results of experience, the principle that like appearances are to be ascribed to like causes. By experience alone we could not determine the bulk of the moon. The same principle by which we ascertain physical causes, induces us to believe in the existence of those that are efficient. If this belief is rejected, it involves us in contradiction and absurdity.

In stating experience to be our only guide in philosophical investigations, Dr. C. differs entirely from the father of the inductive logic, and the most illustrious of his disciples. Bacon, Newton, those who have most successfully cultivated the physical sciences, as well as those who have applied the Baconian maxims to investigate the objects of our consciousness, thought it strictly philosophical, not only to infer the existence of efficient causes from physical effects, but to deduce from the character of the known effects, the peculiar attributes of their causes. If we may confide in our consciousness and our senses, if we may ascend from physical effects to efficient causes, and infer the character of such causes from the perception of ends and uses in their effects, the reasoning by which the conclusions of natural theology are deduced, and the internal evidence of Christianity, will appear in perfect harmony with the purest principles of inductive science. The process, indeed, of resolving the

* Xenoph. Memor. Lib. I. cap. iv. sec. 6.

celestial phenomena into a case of gravitation, is more circuitous and elaborate, but not more inductive or satisfactory, than that of resolving the varied and successive appearances of nature, into the agency of a perfect and eternal Mind. If by the supposition of universal gravitation, the celestial mechanism is explained, do we not, by supposing the being of a supreme and perfect Intellect, find an explanation equally satisfactory, of the innumerable traces of power, intelligence, and goodness, diffused over nature?

‘ Unless our faculties are radically deceptive, we have undoubted ground for concluding that a Deity exists—that certain qualities belong to the Divine character—and that certain general principles mark his administration. Thus combining together the natural evidences furnished by the sources above mentioned, we conclude with the fullest assurance, that one Supreme Intelligence has created and arranged all things—that he presides over all—and that wisdom, justice, and benignity mark his character and administration.—Christianity offers itself to our acceptance, professing to be a revelation from heaven. It presents a new class of phenomena, exhibited in a written record, to which we attend as carefully as to those which are displayed to us in the book of nature. In this new field of investigation, we trace the same characteristic marks of the Divine Being, which we had previously ascertained. Comparing with our former conclusions, the general principles here declared to regulate the Divine procedure, we find them to correspond in every respect; what is obscure in the former, is illustrated by the latter; and their mutual harmony serves to verify both.’ ‘ The argument which establishes the previous presumption in favour of miracles, being grounded on the dignity of the *end* manifestly contemplated in the constitution of Christianity, proceeds on principles fully recognized by the inductive philosophy. Acknowledging the authority of primary laws of belief, uniformly regulating the procedure of the inductive philosopher, the full credibility of the testimony of the Christian witnesses is ascertained. And furnished with those antecedent conceptions of Deity, which natural theology establishes, or permitted to employ the internal evidence, we are able by a process of induction, equally simple and legitimate, to prove from miracles, in the most conclusive manner, the truth of Christianity.’ pp. 124, 125, 127, 128.

According to Dr. C. the heathen, in primitive times, were converted to Christianity solely by its external evidence. ‘ They saw the miracles, they acquiesced in them as satisfying credentials of an inspired; they took their own religion from his mouth.’ If this were the fact, it might still be inquired whether the process in those cases was the only legitimate mode of conviction, or the best possible in all circumstances. But the above statement is not substantiated by any evidence. That the internal evidence of Christianity was not exhibited, or that if exhibited, it was nugatory, remains to be shewn. In the dis-

courses of the great Master of Christians, arguments will be found drawn from the principles of natural theology, as well as from the character and tendency of his doctrine. The Apostle Paul will be found to appeal to fact, to the reason and conscience of his readers, to the reasonableness of his doctrine, in short to principles of natural theology, in order to substantiate the truth of what he taught. As it would be impiety to suppose that our Lord, or his servant, the Apostle Paul, employed fallacious arguments to recommend their conclusions, it follows undeniably that Dr. C. was not a little rash in pouring contempt on modes of inculcating Christian truth, which have been consecrated by the founders of our religion.

For our own part we must say, that the internal evidence of Christianity appears to us to have been, in all ages, most efficacious in producing a salutary conviction of its Divine origin. In the first ages of the Church, the universal belief of demoniacal agency, impaired in a degree the force of the miraculous evidence. The great argument of the early apologists, is, the excellence of the Christian religion, compared, not only with the absurdities and abominations of idolatry, but with the most refined speculations of philosophy. From the great use of this argument, it is natural to infer that it was actually found most efficacious in making converts to the faith. Modern missionaries find the excellence of the Christian religion the most generally prevailing argument among the objects of their labours. In Christian countries, the faith of common Christians in the truth of their religion, rests mainly on its character and tendency. It is impossible, therefore, to view without extreme regret, any respectable Christian writer attempting to subvert the internal evidence of our faith. If the impress which God has made on his truth could be effaced, its place would be ill supplied by crude novelties.

The able work of which we have endeavoured to exhibit an outline, deserves to be attentively read by all Christians who wish to know the principles from which the evidences of religion derive their cogency. It will teach those who may have rested their faith chiefly on the internal proofs of Revelation, that on the same principles, the miraculous evidence affords ground for confidence; while to those whose trust in the internal evidence of Christianity, or in the light of nature, may have been shaken by plausible sophisms, it will shew that they may most reasonably repose in both; and it will make all perceive that if the evidence of our faith should be subverted, it will involve in its ruin all practice and all speculation.

Art. II. *Narrative of an Expedition to explore the River Zaire, usually called the Congo, in South Africa, in 1816, under the Direction of Captain J. K. Tuckey, R. N.*

(Concluded from p. 458.)

VARIOUS circumstances soon occurred, to indicate the difference between the tract of the globe at which the observers had arrived, and that which they had left, to see no more; as for instance, the fresh traces, on the ground, of elephants and tigers, and, at one spot near the shore, 'human skulls and 'other human bones, close to a place where had been a fire.' This last appearance, so much like a sign of cannibalism, was explained some days afterwards.

—'We were assured that they were the remains of criminals, who had suffered for the crime of poisoning, this spot being the place of execution of a certain district. When a common man is convicted of this crime, his head is first severed, and his body then burnt; but the punishment of a culprit of superior rank, is much more barbarous; the members being amputated one by one, so as to preserve life' [that is, for part of an hour] 'and one of each sent to the principal towns of the kingdom. The trial is always by a kind of ordeal.'

They laboured up the side channels of the stream, almost constantly attended and incommoded by boarding parties of Mafooks and their filthy gangs, in quest of brandy, and exorbitant traffickers of a few of the products of the country. They were now also in the proximity of vessels employed in the slave-trade, one of which, under Spanish colours, is pronounced to have been English or American property. Considerable alarm having been excited among these villains, by the appearance of the vessels of the expedition, the Captain very properly judged it his best policy to cause to be circulated the most positive declarations, that as his commission had nothing to do in any way with the slave-trade, he should interfere with no one. Passing the great mass of granite called Fetiche rock, bearing a quantity of rude sculptures, and commanding the river by projecting from the one bank to within a mile and a half of the other, they approached at Embomma, a new stage of the river, in which it presents itself in the form of one undivided stream. Here a black man named Simmons, whom they had on board, was recognised by his father and other relatives, after an absence of eleven years, and welcomed with transports of joy.

—'This history of this man adds one blot more to the character of European slave-traders. His father, who is called Mongova Seki, a prince of the blood, and counsellor to the king of Embomma, entrusted him, when eight or ten years old, to a Liverpool captain of the name of——, * to be educated, (or according to his expression to learn

* The name of such a miscreant ought not to have had the im-

to make book) in England; but his conscientious guardian found it less troublesome to have him taught to make sugar at St. Kitts, where he accordingly sold him; and from whence he contrived to make his escape, and got on board an English ship of war, from which he was paid off on the reduction of the fleet.'

There is a long account of the ceremonies and negotiations at the *Court of Embomma*. The *Chenoo*, or, in civilized phrase, his Majesty, had sent, for the conveyance of the Captain, a sort of hammock, somewhat resembling the palanquin of India, but in such 'dirty plight,' that a long walk was preferred, with the vehicle brought in attendance, to be entered, for etiquette's sake, just at the approach to the royal residence, time enough to be set down in form under a great tree, near what must be called the palace,—which tree was adorned with ensigns of state, in the manner following:

'The first objects which called our attention were four human skulls, hung to the tree, which we were told were those of enemy's chiefs taken in battle, whose heads it was the custom to preserve as trophies; these victims, however, seemed to have received the *coup de grace* previous to the separation of the head, all the skulls presenting compound fractures.'

The whole account of the levee is highly curious. There was no want of appropriate officers, or dignified ceremonial, though a rather inconvenient absence of understanding; inasmuch as it was found totally impossible to make any of the assembled personages comprehend the motive and object of the expedition. They were induced however to admit, at hazard, a favourable judgement of whatever might be its inexplicable purpose, by what they were enabled to comprehend of it negatively, namely, that it was not intended to obstruct the slave-trade, nor to make war. The council broke up in a prodigious racket, on the sight of a keg of rum, which the English embassy had brought as a present,—to be re-assembled, however, for more privy consultation, during the time the visitors were at a repast provided for them, after which they were again summoned to audience. The negotiation appeared to end amicably, upon a solemn reiteration, on oath, by the Captain, of those negative declarations, on which they were forced at last to rest, under the impossibility of understanding any thing more of the matter. The most ready and unreserved offers were then made, by the *Chenoo* and the gentlemen of his court, (and the Captain says, in the grossest, vilest language,) for the indulgence of the

munity of oblivion, unless the suppression be from some consideration of the feelings of innocent relatives,—such relatives as stand clear at this time from all suspicion of participating the present iniquity of the continued slave-trade.

English party in a wretched, unbridled libertinism, officers of which they promptly availed themselves. Displeased as grave and moral readers will be at the gay tone in which he reports the profligacy of his companions, they will be gratified that he could with truth except himself, an exception the truth of which is corroborated by his mentioning their conduct, here and elsewhere, in such light terms as seem to imply no blame.

A sitting secretly held, during the whole of the following night, of the black and grave Divan, resulted in no harm, his Majesty and the court-party overruling a hostile effort of the trading interest against the Expedition. The king even told the Captain, that if his object was to make a settlement in the country, he would grant him as much land as he required. The terror excited, on a subsequent occasion of ceremony, in all that might be supposed the haughtiest and the bravest in the country, by the discharge of a few swivels as a salute, assured the English that nothing was to be feared on the score of martial prowess.

The description of a burying and the funeral howl, resembling the Irish, is followed by a most curious account of the protracted and costly preparation for interment, in the case of those who can afford it.

‘ Simmons requested a piece of cloth to envelope his aunt, who had been dead seven years, and was to be buried in two months, being now arrived at a size to make a genteel funeral. The manner of preserving corpses, for so long a time, is by enveloping them in cloth money of the country, or in European cottons, the smell of putrefaction being only kept in by the quantity of wrappers, which are successively multiplied as they can be procured by the relations of the deceased, or according to the rank of the person; in the case of a rich and very great man, the bulk acquired being only limited by the power of conveyance to the grave; so that the first hut in which the body is deposited becoming too small, a second, a third, even to a sixth, increasing in dimensions, is placed over it.’

Among many particulars of miscellaneous information respecting the people about this place, it is stated that

‘ The two prominent features, in their moral character and social state, seem to be the indolence of the men, and the degradation of the women; the latter being considered as perfect slaves, whose bodies are at the entire disposal of their fathers and husbands, and may be transferred by either of them how and when they may please.’

‘ The cultivation of the ground is entirely the business of slaves and women, the King’s daughters and princes’ wives being constantly thus employed, or in collecting the fallen branches of trees for fuel. The only preparation the ground undergoes is burning the grass, raking the soil into little ridges with a hoe, and dropping the Indian corn grains into holes.’

A little above Embomma it was decided to leave the Congo sloop, and prosecute the enterprise in the large boats. A laborious passage, incommoded by partial rapids in the river, the banks presenting only a long succession of very barren stony hills, brought them up to the point where the boats also were to become useless. Their slow progress was uncheered by any supplies or information to be obtained from the poverty, exorbitance, and ignorance of the people of the few hamlets (or *banzas*) that were passed. In this part of the voyage, an act of humanity was done in the purchase, (partly from compassion, and partly in the hope of deriving some aid from his presumed knowledge of the country, in returning toward the place whence he had been brought,) of a Munding slave, 'bound neck and heels,' but who was instantly restored to liberty in the full sense, and taken in capacity as a servant, by the Captain, in order to prevent any misapprehension among the people as to the nature of this purchase. It was a bad bargain, however, for he proved an utterly worthless fellow.

They were now approaching to the cataract of Yellala, deemed by the natives the residence of an evil spirit, so that whoever saw it once would never see it again. Already the river was become contracted and violent, with 'stupendous overhanging rocks' on each side. In viewing from an eminence the mass of hills through which the course of the river is cut, for the length of a number of leagues, the Captain was instantly convinced of the impossibility of conveying the boats by land, to resume with them the navigation above the cataract. This cataract itself, which had been represented by the natives as most tremendous, was now an object of ardent curiosity. The Captain and four others made their way to it by a long fatiguing walk, and were extremely 'surprised and disappointed at finding, instead of a second Niagara, which the description of the natives, and their horror of it, had given reason to expect, a comparative brook 'bubbling over its stony bed.'

'The south side of the river is here a vast hill of bare rock (sienite), and the north a lower but more precipitous hill of the same substance, between which two the river has forced its course; but in the middle an island of slate still defies its power, and breaks the current into two narrow channels; that near the south side gives vent to the great mass of the river, but is obstructed by rocks above and under water, over which the torrent rushes with great fury and noise, as may easily be conceived. The channel on the north side is now nearly dry, and is composed of great masses of slate, with perpendicular fissures. The highest part of the island is 15 feet above the present level; but from the marks on it, the water in the rainy season must rise 12 feet, consequently covers the whole of the breadth of the channel, with the exception of the summit of the

island ; and with the increased velocity, must then produce a fall somewhat more consonant to the description of the natives.

‘ The principal idea that the fall creates, is that the quantity of water which flows over it, is by no means equal to the volume of the river below it : and yet, as we know that there is not at this season a single tributary stream sufficient to turn a mill, below the fall, we can hardly account for this volume, unless we suppose, as Dr. Smith suggests, the existence of subterraneous communications, or caverns filled with water.’

After making a forced march upward for several days, as near as hills and precipices would permit to the river, which was found through many leagues confined in a narrow channel, and often foaming over rocks, he returned to the boats, to make preparations for the formidable journey through the mountainous tract, in search of a more pacific part of the river, which should permit a new embarkation. From the natives he could obtain no information of the smallest value.

‘ The impossibility of procuring information to be at all depended on from the natives, respecting the course of the river or the nature of the country, proceeds equally from their want of curiosity, extreme indolence, and constant state of war with each other. Hence I have never been able to procure a guide farther than from banza to banza, or at the utmost a day’s journey ; for at every banza we were assured that, after passing the next, we should get into the Bushmen’s country, where they would be in danger of being shot or kidnapped. All my endeavours to find a slave-trader who knew something of the river have been fruitless. It appears that the people of Congo never go themselves for slaves, but that they are always brought to them by those they call Bushmen.’

In the course of this laborious preliminary excursion up the river, Capt. T. found very strong indications of its having in some remote age run in a channel much higher than its present one. He reasonably infers that there was at that time a proportionally higher precipice at Yellala, so that the cataract had once a magnificence worthy of loftier epithets than any now applied to it in the exaggerations of the Congo people. He also met with ominous intimations, such as a violent fever which seized Mr. Tudor, the surgeon, a want of timber for the construction of any kind of vessels for navigation, a scarcity of water in the places where the river could not be approached, and a destitution of provisions, of which he found there would be no possibility of obtaining a sufficient supply for the daily expenditure of twenty men. He learned that this penury of the country, and its burnt-up appearance, were partly the consequence of a deficiency of rain during the last two years. The natives expected the next rainy season to be proportionally violent. ‘ They say that every third or fourth year the river

‘ rises considerably higher than in the intermediate ones ; and
‘ this accounts for the different elevation of the marks on the
‘ rocks.’ The population was found extremely thin, and col-
lected into little knots, in the nature of ‘ *gentlemen’s towns*.’
The people were almost naked, and but very slightly supplied
with European, or indeed, any other articles.

‘ The extent of fertile land is, however, capable, with very mode-
rate industry, of supporting a great increase of population, not the
hundredth part of what we have passed over being made any use of
whatever. The *plateaus* appear to be well adapted for wheat, and
certainly all the garden vegetables of Europe might be produced here
in perfection, as well as potatoes.’ ‘ The only trees that grow to a
large size are the *Adansonia* and the *Bombax*, (or wild cotton,) and
the wood of both is spongy and useless.’

The constitution of government in Congo, is a thing nearly
as soon described as one of these trees, or one of the people’s
few habiliments or utensils. It consists of hereditary fiefs, or
Chenooships, under a ‘ paramount sovereign named Lindy, or
‘ Blindy N’Congo.’ The civil and domestic economy is also a
matter of much simplicity. Slaves seem to form the sinews of
the state.

‘ Slavery is here of two kinds, which may be denominated house-
hold or domestic, and trading. When a young man is of age to
begin the world, his father or guardian gives him the means of pur-
chasing a number of slaves of each sex, in proportion to his quality,
from whom he breeds his domestic slaves, and these (though it does
not appear that he is bound by any particular law,) he never sells or
transfers unless in cases of misbehaviour, when he holds a palaver,
at which they are tried and sentenced. These domestic slaves are,
however, sometimes pawned for debt, but are always redeemed as
soon as possible.’

Of the slaves purchased of the itinerant black merchants, some
are such as have been condemned for crimes, some taken in war,
but by far the greatest number are bush-game, or persons kid-
napped. Captain T. asserts that while the ‘ great men’ of
the country, as well as the merchants, are interested in the con-
tinuance of the slave trade, the people at large desire its ex-
tinction, as being the principal cause of their wars. He predicts,
however, that the malignant effects of its prevalence for three
centuries, will be very long in wearing away after the abolition
—should that ever be *really* accomplished. He adds, ‘ In fact,
‘ if we mean to accelerate the progress of civilization, it can only
‘ be done by colonization, and certainly there could not be a
‘ better point to commence at than the banks of the Zaire.’

The crimes in such a state of society, cannot be of any great
variety. The capital ones punished, in their highest degrees,

as we have seen, most barbarously, are 'adultery with the wives of the great men, and poisoning.'

'The frequency of the crime of putting poison in victuals, has established the custom of the master invariably making the person who presents him with meat or drink, taste it first; and in offering either to a visitor, the host performs this ceremony first. This the natives who speak English, call "taking off the fetiche." If a man poisons an equal, he is simply decapitated; but if an inferior commits this crime, (the only kind of secret murder,) on a superior, the whole of his male relations are put to death, even to the infants at the breast.'

Another mode of punishment, however, is mentioned under the form of an ordeal, which is quite as reasonable a thing as the magical process by which the gangam kissey, a sort of conjuror-priest, fixes the accusation, from malice or at hazard. The person denounced is to chew a poisonous bark, which, if he is guilty, he will retain in his stomach and die; but if innocent, he will vomit up again immediately. This reverend director of justice has nothing to fear from revenge; it is believed that his sacred person cannot be hurt; but it is also believed that he cannot deserve it, for that, be his adjudgement ever so unjust, the blame attaches solely to the kissey, or god, in virtue of whose supposed communication of truth for the conviction of iniquity it is that the worthy gangam is held sacred and inviolable. Never was there a neater device of fraud in a circle, than this, nor a better exemplification, on the small scale, of that property of superstition, by which, beyond all other things, it has the power of destroying common sense; as if by a retributive law of the Governor of the world, the belief in a false religion should infuse a fatuity into the understanding in its exercise on the most ordinary matters. It is remarkable also, as an illustration of human nature, that the belief in a false religion has a greater power to make men *be* practically religious after their manner, than a belief in the true, excepting in those instances (a sad minority) of this latter description, in which a special Divine influence enforces that belief. This fact is exemplified in the Greek and Roman, in the Hindoo and other forms of paganism, and in the Mahomedan and Popish superstitions. This is partly owing, indeed, to the circumstance that superstitions generally have many symbols presented to the senses; but the grand cause is, that evil is more congenial to the human mind, and therefore takes stronger hold of it, than good. The paganism—the extremest dross of paganism as it is—of these Congo people, is an additional though superfluous exemplification of this powerful efficacy of false religion. The *Fetiches*, with their permissions or interdictions, their aids or frustrations, their protections or mischiefs, their favours or re-

vengeances, are incessantly pressing on their minds, whatever they do, and wherever they go. Their individual personal fetiches are to be always with them, and

‘ Each village has a grand kissey or presiding divinity named Mevonga. It is the figure of a man, the body stuck with bits of iron, feathers, old rags, &c. and resembles nothing so much as one of our scare-crows. Each house has its dii penates, male and female, who are invoked on all occasions.’

There has lingered among these people, as among almost all other pagans, a faint dubious glimmer (but that too having acquired a malignant quality) of some Greater Power than the wretched objects of their immediate worship.

‘ They believe in a good and evil principle, both supposed to reside in the sky; the former, they say, sends them rain, and the latter withdraws it; however, they invoke their favour in the dry season, but it does not seem that they consider them as in any other manner influencing human affairs; nor do they offer them any kind of worship. Their ideas of a future state seem not to admit of any retribution for their conduct in this world; good and bad going equally after death to the sky, where they enjoy a kind of Mahomedan paradise.’

There is a remarkable consistency between the two notions, Manicheism and a future state without retribution.

We shall seem to have lost sight of the interesting and hazardous expedition. But in truth there is very little more to be told. At the period of making ready for the prosecution of the adventure beyond Yellala, a great proportion of the party, both those who were to advance, and those who were to stay with the vessels, were within their last allotment of life.

Tangit vicina fati.

When aware of this, the reader will feel a kind of ominous solemnity in the description of the night view at the place of their last encampment together, near banza Cooloo, previously to the morning on which the Captain with his selected associates set forward.

‘ The night scene at this place requires the pencil to delineate it. In the foreground an immense *Adansonia*, under which our tents are pitched, with the fires of our people throwing a doubtful light over them; before us the lofty and perpendicular hills that form the south side of Yellala, with its ravines, in which only vegetation is found) on fire, presenting the appearance of the most brilliantly illuminated amphitheatre; and finally, the hoarse noise of the fall, contrasted with the perfect stillness of the night, except when broken by the cry of our centinels, “all’s well.” continued to create a sensation to which even our sailors were not indifferent.’

On the 18th of August, the Captain, though very sensibly

affected in his health, set off with fourteen men, several natives hired as carriers, a guide, and an interpreter in place of 'Prince Schi, alias Simmons,' who had deserted, and behaved in a base and mischevous manner;—and he returned to the same spot on the 14th of September, after a most resolute, persevering, laborious, but fruitless series of exertions, in which he encountered a long succession of difficulties in the nature of the country, and an incessant course of obstructions and vexations from the roguery, capriciousness, and idleness of the natives. The reader sympathizes with his continual mortifications more indignantly, perhaps, than he is warranted, when it is considered how natural it was for such barbarians to act just as they did; and he wishes there had been the means of administering the whip or the bamboo to almost every male African biped that came in the Captain's way. The extreme difficulty of obtaining any thing like half an adequate supply of provisions, for a party without means of advancing on the water, and without stores of their own, would soon have become an invincible obstacle; but the most immediately fatal circumstance was, that one after another of his Europeans, exhausted with fatigue, and heat, and deficiency of sustenance, fell ill, and was to be left behind, to the care of some native attendant, or of some one of his countrymen detached for that purpose from the yet efficient but thus fast diminishing band. The slight alleviation of toil obtained, in some of the upper stages of the progress, by the use of two or three small canoes of the natives, was counterbalanced by the perversity and exactions of the owners and managers of these paltry, crazy vehicles.

Much vigilance of observation is evinced in the brief journal written under the pressure of so many harassing circumstances. But the field of view did not, except in the consideration of its being so new to Europeans, furnish matter of extraordinary interest. The uniform degradation of the human occupants of small spots and shreds of it, gave little diversity of appearance, manners, or accommodations of life. Just to keep alive appeared the whole amount of their system, except that the sight of some European toys and textures seemed to awaken the idea, that for the sake of a little decoration, it was worth while to do their best at playing the rogue in the way of exorbitant barter, or of getting payment before-hand for services which they meant to render but partially, or not at all. In this way only were they in the least formidable, either as enemies, or as false friends, their pettiness and cowardliness of character being such as to render them contemptible as to any other mode of hostility, if they ventured to make a shew of waging it. A considerable horde of them did in one instance, upon some resolute and imperative measure adopted by the Captain, presume to make such

as shew, with loud and portentous 'note of preparation,' which, as it would have been inconvenient just then to defy, he readily quashed by a little humouring, rebuking, and bribery.—With respect to their personal appearance, he says,

'The Congoese are evidently a mixed nation, having no national physiognomy, and many of them perfectly South European in their features. This, one would naturally conjecture, arises from the Portuguese having mixed with them; and yet there are very few mulattoes among them.'

He could obtain from them no notion of their history, beyond a slight tradition that 'Congo once formed a mighty empire, the chief of which had three sons, between whom he divided his dominions at his death.' In contemplating their present condition he says,

'The idea of civilizing Africa by sending out a few negroes educated in England, appears to be utterly useless; the little knowledge acquired by such persons having the same effect on the universal ignorance and barbarism of their countrymen that a drop of fresh water would have on the ocean.'

Their chief luxury is palm wine, which he describes as an exquisite one also to the fatigued European traveller when he can obtain it. They have songs on this subject, as well as on love, war, &c.

'The indolence of the men is so great, that if a man gets a few beads of different colours, he stops at home, (while his wife is in the field picking up wood, &c.) to string them, placing the different colours in every kind of way till they suit his fancy.'

None of the formidable beasts or reptiles which infest many parts of Africa incommoded the travellers. There were plenty of hippopotami in the river, and in several places they saw alligators.

The river, though not without its inconvenient rocks and rapids, presented to the mortified explorers a grand practicable road forward, which they were never to travel. At the highest point which they attained it had assumed a very noble and tantalizing appearance, and the natives said there was no further impediment to its navigation.

'And here,' says Capt. T. we were even under the necessity of turning our back on it, which we did with great regret, but with the consciousness of having done all we could.'

'This excursion convinced us of the total impracticability of penetrating with any number of men by land, along the sides of the river, both from the nature of the country, and impossibility of procuring provisions.'

The river was very gradually rising during the latter part of the time of this fruitless and disastrous experiment. Its

highest swell seems to be about twelve feet. The Captain records an observation very interesting with respect to the inquiry from what region it comes. The

‘Extraordinary quiet rise of the river shews it, I think, to issue chiefly from some lake, which had received almost the whole of its water from the north of the line.’

On reaching the place below Yellala, where the sloop and boats had been left, he was shocked to find what a number of the stationary party had quitted the enterprise, in the complete and final sense. He was appointed very soon to follow them.

To his Journal is added that of the botanist, Professor Smith, which is a parallel narrative, with many observations of considerable value, relating to the natural history of the tracts which were traversed. This is followed by a series of General Observations, in which the substance of the information obtained by the Expedition is brought very clearly into one view. The work is completed by an elaborate Appendix of natural history, forming of itself a considerable volume.

The copper-plates are sufficiently neat, and there are a number of very illustrative wood-cuts introduced in the letter-press.

Art. III. *A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales*; ornamented with Engravings. By Nicholas Carlisle, F.R.S. Assistant Librarian to His Majesty, F. and Sec. S.A. &c. &c. 8vo. 2 Vols. pp. xliv. 1841. Price £2. 10s. 4to. £4. 4s. London. 1818.

MR. CARLISLE is already known to the Public, as the Compiler of a Series of Topographical Dictionaries of England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland. Of the first of these, a brief notice was given in this Journal at the time it appeared;* and in justice to our Author, we think it proper now to add, that his Topographical Dictionary of England has been found peculiarly serviceable to Magistrates, in making orders of removal under that most expensive part of the present system of Poor Laws,—the law respecting Parochial Settlements. His other Topographical Dictionaries, which it has not fallen in our way to notice, are all characterized by great accuracy and research.

This “Concise Description” is published at a particularly interesting period, when the public attention is so strongly directed to the state of the National Charities. Whatever discontents exist respecting the *selection* of the Commissioners for investigating the Endowed Schools and Charities of England,—and (as we lately took occasion to shew†) there certainly appear to have been strong grounds for complaint, we are still disposed

* See Eclectic Review. Old Series, 1808. Vol. IV. Part I. p. 564.

† Eclectic for Oct. Art. Brougham’s *Letter to Romilly*.

to augur well respecting the labours of the Commission, from their having called to their aid the Author of this work, in the capacity of their chief Secretary*.

‘It is highly gratifying to observe, (Mr. Carlisle remarks,) that whenever the funds of these venerable and excellent Establishments have been *faithfully* applied, the most beneficial consequences have ensued. It is, however, painful to relate that many of our numerous and ample endowments have fallen to decay, by the negligence or cupidity of ignorant or unprincipled trustees; who have silently, or by connivance, suffered the furtive alienation of the very lands which they were called upon so solemnly to defend, and which were in a great measure ordained for the education of their own children.’

‘As the property of those benevolent Institutions is, therefore, in several cases lost or sunk, or disgracefully misapplied; or lessened or impaired by gross dereliction of duty, and very great frauds are committed in letting and managing the estates:—‘it appears’ (rather, we would say, *it is*) ‘absolutely necessary that such disorder and misapplication should speedily be abolished, by a PUBLIC INVESTIGATION and REFORM of those evils, which is only within the power of Parliament.’

‘It is true, that many of the nobility, gentry, or neighbouring ministers, are often the *special Visitors*; and the Right Reverend their diocesan, and spiritual father, is always their *general Visitor*; but such interference is probably seldom exercised, unless at the honest indignation of some conscientious parishioner.’ Vol. I. Pref. pp. xxxiv, xxxv.

In a sensible preface, Mr. Carlisle briefly traces the history and progress of the English Universities and Grammar Schools; but, as it is compiled chiefly from Dr. Henry’s History of England, and his continuator Mr. Andrews, and other common sources of information, we need not detain our readers by following him in this part of his work.

The volumes now before us, contain descriptions of four hundred and seventy-five Endowed Schools; they are drawn up from the most authentic printed documents, but principally from manuscript communications from the places described.† In several instances, *no* information was given; and we shall not be surprised to find that the schools, concerning which information was thus withheld, are among those which *most* need the salutary investigation of the Parliamentary Commissioners. The schools are placed in the alphabetical order of the counties in which they are situated. The topics discussed concerning

* We have been informed that Mr. Carlisle is indebted for this appointment solely to the research displayed in his work, and that the Secretaryship was conferred on him, unsolicited on his part, and in a manner that reflects the highest honour on the Rt. Hon. Gentlemen by whom he was nominated.

† Upwards of 1400 letters have been sent and received.

each, are the following; viz.—When and by whom founded; the original and present accounts of the endowments, and whether they are in land or otherwise, and where situated; the number of boys educated, the conditions and periods of their admission and continuance at school; the course of education adopted in each school; the university exhibitions or scholarships attached; the names and emoluments of the head and second or other masters, and their annual charges for pupils; (if they take any boarders;) the church preferments attached to each school, and lists of eminent men who were educated in any of them.

In going through these volumes, we have noticed many flagrant abandonments of the intentions of the benevolent founders, by the total neglect or disuse of the schools endowed, mismanagement of revenues, conversion of the school houses into barns, &c. &c. &c. As a specimen of Mr. Carlisle's work, will, however, convey a more accurate idea of its nature and execution, than any detailed account of its contents, we shall extract the principal part of this account of St. Paul's School, one of the most distinguished and best administered classical schools of the metropolis.

‘ John Colet, D.D., Dean of St Paul's, the excellent son of an amiable and patriotic father, Sir Henry Colet, Knt., twice Lord Mayor of London, having, by a life of unsullied reputation, gained the esteem of his countrymen and of mankind, conceived the benevolent design of perpetuating his name by a foundation, the most liberal, rational, and noble. As London was the place of his nativity, and in which his family had been raised to wealth and honour, and, as he bore a new and nearer relation to it as Dean of it's Cathedral Church, he resolved, that, as the City was deficient in public schools, the sons of his fellow citizens should partake largely of his gratitude; whilst the whole kingdom might at the same time enjoy the good effects of his bounty, and of a classical education. Being, therefore, without any near relations (for, numerous as his brethren were, he had outlived them all,) he piously resolved, in the midst of life and health, to consecrate the whole of his very ample estate to some useful and permanent benefaction. With these great and good sentiments, in 1509, he begun seriously to carry his design into effect; and conveyed the whole of his estate in London to The Mercers' Company, in trust, for the endowment of his school. Which was founded by the warrant of Henry the Eighth, on the supplication of the Dean.’

Mr. Carlisle subjoins Colet's modest statement of the foundation, in order he says, “ that all the intentions of this excellent “ man may be understood from his own words; and, that the “ rules for the government of the school, which must have been “ the study of a considerable portion of his time, may be duly “ appreciated and preserved;” but as the whole of these statutes,

and the rent roll of the foundation would occupy too large a space in our journal, we shall confine our extracts to the regulations concerning the scholars.

‘ There shall be taught in the Scole, *Children of all Nations and Contres indifferently*, to the number of one hundred and fifty three,* according to the number of the seates in the scole. The Maister shall admit these children as they be offrid from tyme to tyme; but first se, that they canne saye the catechyzon, and also that he can rede and write competently, else let him not be admitted in no wise.

‘ A childe at the first admission, once for ever, shall paye 4d. for wrytinge of his name; this money of the admissions shall the poor scoler have that swepeth the scole and kepeth the seats cleane.

‘ In every forme one principall childe shal be placid in the chaire, pre ident of that forme.

‘ The children shall come unto the scole in the mornynge at seven of the clocke, both Winter and Somer, and tarye there untill eleven, and returne againe at one of the clocke. and depart at five. And thrise in the daye, prostrate they shall saye the prayers with due tract and pawsing as they be conteyned in a table in the scole, that is to say, in the mornynge, and at none, and at eveninge.

‘ In the scole in no tyme in the yere, they shall use talough candell in no wise, but alonly waxe candell, at the costes of theyr frendes.

‘ Also I will they bring no meate nor drinke, nor bottel, nor use in the school no breakfasts, nor drinkings, in the tyme of learnynge in no wise, yf they nede drinke let them be provided in some other place.

‘ I will they use no cockfichtinge, nor rydinge about of victorye, nor disputing at *Saint Bartilmewe*, which is but foolish babling, and losse of time. I will also that they shall have no *Remedyes* Play days). Yf the maister grantith any *Remedyes*. he shall forfeit 40s, *totiens quotiens*, excepte the Kyng or an Archbishopp, or a Bishop present in his own person in the scole desire it.

‘ All these children shall every *Childermas* daye come to Paulis Church, and hear the *childe Bishop* sermon; and after he at the Hygh Masse, and each of them offer a penny to the *childe Byshop*, and with them the maisters and surveyors of the scole.

‘ In general Processions when they be warnid, they shall go twayne and twayne together soberlye, and not singe out, but say devoutleye twene and twene seven Psalmes with the Letanye.

‘ Yff any childe after he is receyved, and admitted into the scole, go to any other scole, to learne there after the maner of that scole, than I will that suche childe *for no man’ uite shall be hereafter received into our scole*, but go where him lyst, where his frendes shall thincke shall be better learninge. And this I will be shewed unto his frendes or other that offer him at his first presenting into the scole.’

WHAT SHALL BE TAUGHT.

‘ As touching in this scole what shall be taught of the maisters,

* ‘ Alluding to the number of Fish taken by St. Peter, John xxi, 11.’

and learned of the scolers, it passeth my witte to devyse, and determine in particular, but in general to speake and sume what to saye my mynde, I would they were taught always in good literature bothe Laten and Greeke, and good autors such as have the verrye *Romayne* eloquence joyned with wisdom, specially Cristen autors, that wrote their wisdom with clean and chaste Laten, other in verse or in prose, for my intent is by this scole, specially to encrease knowledge and worshippinge of God and our Lord Christ Jesu, and good Cristen life and manners in the children.

‘ And for that entent I will the children learne first above all the *Catechizon* in Englishe, and after the *Accidens*, that I made, or some other, yf any be better to the purpose, to induce children more spedely to Laten speeche. And then *Institutem Christiani Hominis*, which that learned Erasmus made at my requeste, and the boke called *Copia* of the same Erasmus. And then other authors Christian, as *Lactantius*, *Prudentius*, and *Proba*, and *Sedulius*, and *Juvencus*, and *Baptista Mantuanus*, and suche other as shall be thought convenient and most to purpose unto the true Laten speeche. All *Barbary*, all corruption, all Laten adulterate which ignorant blinde foles brought into this worlde, and with the same hath dystained and poysonyd the olde Laten speeche, and the veraye *Romayne* tonge, whiche in the tyme of *Tully*, and *Sallust*, and *Virgell*, and *Terence*, was usid, whiche also *Sainte Jerome*, and *Sainte Ambrose*, and *Sainte Austen*, and many holy doctors lerned in theyre tymes. I saye that fylthiness and all suche abusion whiche the later blynde world brought in, whiche more rather may be called *Blotterature* then *Litterature*, I utterly abannyshe and exclude out of this scole, and charge the maisters that they teche alwaye that is beste, and instruct the children in Greke and redyng Laten, in redyng unto them suche autors that hathe with wisdom joyned the pure chaste eloquence.

‘ In the introduction to the Rudiments of Grammar, drawn up by this excellent man, and published for the standing use and service of “*Paul’s school*,” are “the honest and admirable rules” which he prescribed, for the admission and continuance of boys in his school. These rules and orders were to be read over to the parents, when they first brought their children, for their assent to them, as the express terms and conditions of expecting any benefit of education there.

“ The mayster shall reherse these articles to them that offer their Chyl dren, on this wyse here followynge:—

“ If youre Chylde can rede and wryte Latyn and Englyshe suffy-
cyently, so that he be able to rede and wryte his own lessons, then he
shal be admitted into the scole for a scholer.

“ If youre chylde, after reasonable season proved, be founde here
unapte and unable to lernynge, than ye warned thereof, shal take
hym awaye, that he occupye not oure rowme in vayne.

“ If he be apt to lerne, ye shal be contente that he continue here
tyl he have competent literature.

“ If he absente six dayes, and in that mean season ye shew not
cause resonable (resonable cause is al only skenes,) than his rowme
to be voyde, without he be admitted agayne, and pay 4d.

"Also after cause shewed, if he conteneue to absente tyl the weke of admyssion in the next quarter, and then ye shewe not the contenance of his sekeness, then his rowme to be voyde, and he none of the scole tyl he be admytted agayne, and paye 4d. for wryting his name.

"Also if he fall thryse into absence, he shal be admytted no more.

"Your chylde shal on *Chyldermas* daye, wayte upon the boy *Byshop* at *Poules*, and offer there.

"Also ye shall fynde him waxe in Winter.

"Also ye shall fynde him conveyent bokes to his lernynge.

"If the offerer be content with these articles, than let his childe be admytted."

"To these instructions is subjoynd an abridgement of the principles of religion.

"The celebrated Cardinal Wolsey, when he had founded a shcool in his native town of Ipswich, and was to recommend some little system of grammatical rules to it, did Dean Colet and himself the honour to reprint those rudiments, and directed them to be used in his seminary.

"As it is ever pleasing to trace the actions of good men, I subjoin a further account of this magnificent Institution, as contained in a letter from the learned Erasmus to Justus Jonas.

"Upon the death of his father, when, by right of inheritance, he was possessed of a good sum of money; lest the keeping of it should corrupt his mind, and turn it too much toward the world, he laid out a great part of it, in building a new School in the Church-yard of St. Paul's, dedicated to the Child Jesus: a magnificent fabric; to which he added, two dwelling houses for the two several masters: and to them he allotted ample salaries, that they might teach a certain number of boys, *free*, and for the sake of charity.

"He divided the school into four apartments. The first, *viz.*, the porch and entrance, is for *Catechumens*, or the children to be instructed in the principles of religion; where no child is to be admitted, but what can read and write. The second apartment is for the lower boys, to be taught by the second master or usher: the third, for the upper forms, under the head master: which two parts of the school are divided by a curtain, to be drawn at pleasure. Over the master's chair is an image of the Child Jesus, of admirable work, in the gesture of teaching; whom all the boys, going and coming, salute with a short hymn: and there is a representation of God the Father, saying, '*Hear ye him*;' these words being written at my suggestion. The fourth, or last apartment, is a little Chapel for Divine Service. The school has no corners, or hiding places; nothing like a cell or closet. The boys have their distinct forms, or benches, one above another. Every form holds sixteen; and he that is head, or captain of each form, has a little kind of desk by way of pre-eminence. They are not to admit all boys of course; but to choose them in according to their parts and capacities.

"The wise and sagacious founder saw, that the greatest hopes and happiness of the Commonwealth were, in the training up of

children to good letters and true religion ; for which noble purpose, he laid out an immense sum of money ; and yet he would admit not one to bear a share in this expense. Some person having left a legacy of £100. *sterling* toward the fabric of the school, Dean Colet perceived a design in it ; and, by leave of the Bishop, got that money to be laid out upon the Vestments of the Church of St. Paul.

“ After he had finished all, he left the perpetual care and oversight of the estate, and government of it, not to the Clergy ; not to the Bishop ; not to the Chapter ; nor to any great Minister at court ; but, amongst the married Laymen ; to the Company of Mercers, men of probity and reputation. And, when he was asked the reason of so committing the trust, he answered to this effect :—*That there was no absolute certainty in human affairs ; but, for his part, he found less corruption in such a body of Citizens, than in any other order or degree of mankind.*”

‘ It is also worthy of remark, that this School is not shackled or obstructed by any Statute, which might hinder it from being generally useful to the world. Not only natives of the city, but those who are born in any other part of the kingdom, and even those who are foreigners, “ *of all nations and countries,*” are capable to be partakers of its privileges. And the good founder’s wisdom is also very apparent, in giving liberty to declare the sense of his statutes in general ; and, from time to time, to alter and correct, add and diminish, as should, in after-times be thought proper, or should any way tend to the better government of the school.

‘ As the love of retirement seemed soon after the establishment of his foundation, to increase upon him, in order more pleasingly to indulge it, the Dean built a suitable house near Richmond, in Surrey, for his future residence. But being twice seized with the sweating sickness, and relapsing into it a third time, a consumption ensued, which proved fatal on the 16th of September, 1519, in the fifty-third year of his age. Thus closed the life of the eminent founder of St. Paul’s School, an honour to his own day and his country, and whose celebrated establishment will perpetuate his name to the latest posterity.

‘ He was buried in the Choir of his Cathedral, with an humble monument, which had been prepared for him several years before, and with no other inscription than his solitary name. A memorial, more suited to his character and his fame, was afterwards erected to him by the Company of Mercers, which was destroyed with the Cathedral in the dreadful conflagration of that church, in 1666 : but the representation of it is still preserved in Sir William Dugdale’s History of St. Paul’s, and in Dr Knight’s admirable life of the worthy Dean.

‘ The antient school shared also in the great calamity of 1666. It was re-built in 1670, by the active zeal of the Mercers’ Company, under the particular direction of Robert Ware, Esq., Warden of the School, as appears by a Latin inscription, which is now suspended in the library. The library was added at the same time.

‘ The elevation of St. Paul’s School is uniform, and, in a more advantageous situation, would attract attention as an example of elegant architecture. The structure is a parallelogram, extending north and south, almost directly facing the chancel of St. Paul’s Church. The

north wing, consisting of large and elegant apartments, is occupied by the High Master ;—the south, equally commodious, is appropriated to the Second Master ;—and the Third Master, called the Chaplain, occupies a house in *the Old Change*, to the east of the building.

‘ The school-room is large and commodious, and is ornamented with a bust of the founder, by Bacon ; and of the late much respected High Master, Mr. George Thicknesse, which was placed there by a voluntary subscription of his grateful scholars. The emblematical engravings, the gift of the late patron of literature and the arts, Mr. Alderman Boydell, are in preservation, but not hung up in the school : upon former occasions they used to decorate the upper end of the school, on the day of *the Apposition* ; but, according to the present arrangements on that day, this custom is in disuse. A bust of Dr. Roberts, the late High Master, by Hickey, has lately been erected at the upper end of the school, on the left of that of the founder. It consists of eight classes or forms ; in the first of which, children learn their rudiments ; and from thence, according to their proficiency, are advanced to the other forms, until they rise to the eighth.

‘ This is a Free School, and confined to that mode of tuition alone which is strictly *classical* ; and without any other charge than the payment of *one shilling*, on the entrance of each boy.

‘ The admission of the scholars is in the Mercers’ Company : the surveyor accomptant, one of the court of assistants, being the officer delegated by them, to nominate during his year of office.

‘ Scholars are admitted to the age of *fifteen*. But, at present, no boy is eligible to an exhibition, if he is admitted after the age of *twelve*. It is, however, probable that some alteration will be made in the admission of boys, as to their eligibility to exhibitions. An earlier period than *twelve* will most likely be fixed.

‘ There is no prescribed time of Superannuation by the statutes. But no boy is expected to remain at the school, after his *nineteenth* birth day.

‘ The Latin Grammar which is used, is that of Lily corrected by Ward,—and the Greek grammar, that of Camden, or the Westminster. It is to the honour of St. Paul’s School, that the principal grammars for the study of the Latin and Greek languages, throughout the kingdom, should have been the works of it’s founder and first master, and of Camden, who was one of it’s Scholars.

‘ On Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, the school begins at *seven* o’clock in the morning,—(except from the Monday after the first of November to the Monday before the first of March, when it begins at *eight*)—and continues till *twelve*, when it closes for the rest of the day.

‘ On Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, the school begins at *seven*,—(except as above)—and continues till *eleven*, then begins again at *one*, and continues till *four*.

‘ The grand examination of the scholars takes place after Easter, and occupies two days : on the last of which, the *seniors* of the eighth class make their recitations in Greek, Latin, and English, previous to their admission at some college. And the captain of the school leaves it at that season.

‘ The Apposition, a term peculiar to St. Paul’s School, is in fact the annual commemoration of the founder ; and formerly took place on the second day of the examination. Of late it has usually been holden on the Wednesday or Thursday in the examination week. The solemn business of this day is the commemoration of the founder by three orations in Greek, Latin, and English, composed and spoken by the three senior boys. These are succeeded by two prize compositions in *Latin* and *English verse*, and afterwards speeches by the upper boys. The captain of the school generally, but not necessarily, is appointed to a Camden exhibition. The Camden and other exhibitions are given away at this season of the year by the trustees at *Mercers’ Hall* ; a court being holden on the day after the Apposition, by the trustees, called “ *The Apposition Court* ;” for the transacting this and other business relative to St. Paul’s School.

‘ There are at present *eight* exhibitions which are paid out of a separate estate, being a benefaction founded by Lord Viscount Camden, which is quite distinct from the estate of St. Paul’s School itself. This donation consists of a moiety of the tythes of Woodhorne, Seaton, Witherington, Creswell Horton, *alias* Horneton Hirst, Errington, and Linton, in the county of Northumberland, and of the sum of £16,000. Bank three pounds *per centum* reduced annuities ; the gross annual income of which, in 1815, amounted to the sum of £9000, or thereabouts. These exhibitions are of the annual value of one hundred pounds each ; and are confined to such scholar or scholars as from time to time, for ever, shall be preferred from St. Paul’s School to Trinity College, Cambridge. Their number is not limited ; neither is the time, but it is usually for *seven* years.

‘ There are an indefinite number of exhibitions of £50. a year each, to any College of either University. They are holden for *seven* years ; and are never given to the same boys who have the Camden exhibitions. It is probable, that some alteration may soon take place in the value or number of them.

‘ There are also some advantages, either as scholarships or exhibitions, for *Paulines* (scholars of St. Paul’s School usually so denominated,) at Trinity and St. John’s Colleges, in the University of Cambridge,—founded by Mr. Perry, and Dr. Sykes.

‘ The exhibitioners are chosen by the court of Wardens of the Mercers’ Company, and the trustees of the school. And they are paid at Mercers’ Hall.’

Mr. John Stock, Citizen and Draper of London, by his will, dated the 26th of February, 1780, among various other legacies, bequeathed £1000. three per cents. to the master and fellows of Corpus Christi or Bene’t College, Cambridge, the interest of which was for ever to be appropriated to the maintenance of a scholar from this school, with the exception of £15. which sum is always to be reserved to defray the expenses of his illness, death, &c. during his continuance at College. Mr. Carlisle has given an extract from this gentleman’s will, and also the regulations prescribed by him for the scholarships ; but these we omit, as not being of sufficient general interest.

‘ With respect to the several exhibitions, the Company of Mercers have, at different times, taken salutary precautions, relative to the scholars intending to offer themselves as candidates for them;—and it is most gratifying to remark, that the Company of Mercers, by their good management of the revenues of the School, have always been enabled to have a fund ready to supply the wants of their more indigent scholars, and, by their faithful discharge of the trust reposed in them, have secured such high respect to the foundation, as will ever claim the most grateful remembrance, and be a lasting monument of their unsullied honour, assiduity, and care.

‘ It has been the wish of some of the Mercers’ Company, to enlarge the School, and also to afford additional education; it having been thought, that it might be of importance to afford them the advantage of *Writing*, learning *Accompts*, and the lower branches of the *Mathematics*. But that is a measure which has not been put in practice, nor is such a scheme determined upon. The founder certainly never had any idea of establishing a large *Free School*, and annexing it to the *Grammar School*, because he has expressly declared his intentions that it should be a *Grammar School only*, and that no more than *ONE HUNDRED and FIFTY-THREE* boys should be educated here. By the Statutes, however, the trustees are invested with unlimited powers as to making any alteration either in the *site* of the School or otherwise, as it shall seem to them advantageous to the Institution.

‘ There are no Church Preferments belonging to this School, neither is there a Common Seal.

‘ The gross average income of the school is about £5,300 *per annum*, arising from landed estates, and the interest of money in the funds, being £26,000 stock.

‘ The present high master is, John Sleath, D. D., whose salary is £618 *per annum*, together with a spacious house. There is also a house appropriated to the high master, at *Stepney*, besides the house in the church-yard, which is a trifling emolument. This gentleman takes boarders. The original bust of the founder, which was discovered in the ruins of the school, after the great conflagration, and which was removed, to be succeeded by the copy now in the school-room, was placed, by the good taste of Dr. Roberts, in the high master’s house over the exterior of his drawing-room door.

‘ The following is a list of the high masters of St. Paul’s School, from it’s first foundation.—1512. William Lily.—1522. John Ritwyse.—1532. Richard Jones.—1549. Thomas Freeman.—1559. John Cooke.—1573. William Malin.—1581. John Harrison.—1596. Richard Mulcaster.—1608. Alexander Gill, *Senior*.—1635. Alexander Gill, D.D. *Junior*.—1640. John Langley.—1657. Samuel Cromeholme.—1672. Thomas Gale, D.D.—1697. John Postlethwayt.—1713. Philip Ascough.—1721. Benjamin Morland.—1733. Timothy Crumpe.—1737. George Charles, D.D.—1748. George Thicknesse.—1769. Richard Roberts, D.D.—1814. John Sleath, D.D.

‘ The present sur-master is the Rev. Richard Edwards, M.A., whose salary is £307. *per annum*, and a house. This gentleman also takes boarders.

‘ The present under-master or antient chaplain is, the Rev. W. A. C. Durham, M.A., whose salary is £227. *per annum*, and a house.

‘ The present assistant master is, the Rev. J. P. Bean, M. A. whose salary is £257. *per annum*, but no house. This gentleman takes boarders.

‘ Besides these salaries, there are payments from the school funds to the officers of the company; *viz.*, the clerk £100 a year; the accomptant £40.; two beadles £5. each; the surveyor accomptant £4.; the surveyor assistant £4.; and a porter boy £2.

‘ And, as a laudable encouragement to the high masters, that their labours shall not go without their just reward, the company allow a princely annuity of £1,000. to the late high master, the Rev. Dr. Roberts, who retired, after filling that dignified station about forty-five years, and “ was a man of great merit.”

‘ There is also an annuity allowed to the late sur-master’s widow, of £60 *per annum*.

‘ From this fruitful seminary of religion and learning, which has continued to increase in reputation for more than three hundred years, many good and great men have proceeded; and among these may be enumerated,—Thomas Nightingale; Thomas Lupset; Sir Anthony Denny, Knight, Privy Counsellor to Henry the Eighth; Sir William Paget, Knight, Privy Counsellor to Henry the Eighth, and the three succeeding sovereigns; Sir Edward North, afterwards Lord North; John Leland, the Antiquary; William Whitaker, D.D. Professor of Divinity, and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; William Camden; John Milton; Sir Charles Scarborough, the Physician; Samuel Pepys, Esq. Secretary to the Admiralty; Benjamin Calamy, D.D.; Thomas Smith, A.M. Keeper of the University Library of Cambridge; Richard Blondel, the Surgeon; Sir Thomas Davies, Knight, the celebrated Linguist; Humphrey Gower, D.D., Master of St. John’s College, Cambridge; Robert Nelson, Esq., the pious author of the *Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England*; Richard Cumberland, Bishop of Peterborough; Thomas Tooke, S.T.P., Master of the Grammar School of Bishop’s Stortford; Roger Cotes, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; and the associate of Sir Isaac Newton; Sir John Trevor, Knight, Master of the Rolls; Archibald, Earl of Forfar; Charles, Duke of Manchester; Sir Edward Northey, Knight, Attorney General; George Hooper, D.D., Bishop of Bath and Wells; Samuel Bradford, D.D., Bishop of Rochester; John Long, Bishop of Norwich; Matthew Mawson, Bishop of Ely; Spencer Compton, Speaker of the House of Commons; Spencer Cooper, Chief Justice of Chester; Sir Soulden Laurence, Knight; Dr. Garner, Dean of Exeter; John Fisher, D.D. the present Bishop of Salisbury; and the Rev. John Curtis, the present head master of the grammar school at Ashby-de-la-Zouch.’

The work is beautifully printed; and the fac-similes of the seals, sixty-eight in number, are engraven in a very superior style. To the accuracy of Mr. Carlisle’s information respecting many of the great foundations, particularly those of London,

we can bear an individual testimony; and we have no doubt that the others are as correct as unwearied assiduity and research can make them. We consider his work as an important accession to topographical literature, which ought to find a place in every well selected library.

Art. III. *Illustrations of the Divine Government*; tending to shew, that Every Thing is under the Direction of Infinite Wisdom and goodness, and will terminate in the Production of Universal Purity and Happiness. By T. Southwood Smith, M.D.

Concluded from page 350.

THE argument *a priori* in favour of the doctrine of Universal Restoration, is not only specious, but satisfactory, if the one thing which requires to be proved, is taken for granted. We have already referred to this fundamental principle, which, apart from the plain, practical, and scriptural aspect of the subject, is, as it seems to us, the only point that can demand any lengthened consideration. If it be allowed that Evil is a branch of the Divine contrivance for the production of a higher ultimate good to the creature; that it is but the *temporary name* of a particular class of the dispensations of Sovereign Beneficence; if, in a word, the foremost and favourite dogma of infidelity be conceded, that all things are as God makes them; then, indeed, many pages fewer than the three hundred which Dr. Smith has employed, might suffice to bring the question to an issue. But with the proof of this most essential point, he no where troubles his reader. Perhaps he never surmised that it could be called in question; or he might perceive, that unless he could place it beyond a doubt, it would give an absolutely gratuitous and nugatory character to his subsequent reasonings.

The argument may, we believe, without misrepresentation, be thus stated. God is immediately, or mediately, the Author of *all being*: that is to say, all things are, as He causes them to be. God is perfectly good, or, to speak more definitely, perfectly beneficent. The highest possible good of his creatures, is the sole and ultimate end of God in the construction and government of the universe. If God be perfectly beneficent, He will certainly choose such an end; if perfectly wise, He will adopt the best means for its accomplishment; and if all powerful, He will perfect his design beyond the possibility of failure. The reader will at once perceive, that however objectionable some of these propositions may be, there is but one of them of any significance to the argument; namely, that first mentioned; and it is upon the assumption of this very proposition, that all those, as far as we are aware, who have defended the doctrine in dispute, have founded their reasonings.

A few extracts from the volume before us, will exhibit a specimen of the several branches of the argument, as we have just stated it.

‘ If then the world be indeed the production of a Being who is infinite in wisdom, power and goodness, the proof of His constant and perfect superintendence of it seems to be irresistible. For since He is perfect in wisdom, He could not have created it without some design, and that design, whatever it be, He must be careful to accomplish. Whether we suppose He created it with a view to display to His intelligent creatures His wisdom and power, or with a design to impart enjoyment to an inconceivable number and variety of beings, we must believe, in the one case, that He will at all times provide against the interruption of that order which alone can illustrate His perfections, and the destruction of those faculties which are necessary to perceive them; *and in the other, that He will suffer no event to happen which can prevent or impair the happiness He determines to bestow.* In every successive period, therefore, He must have exactly the same reason to superintend the events which take place in his creation, as He had at first to perform the glorious work.—The doctrine of the scriptures is, that God is the ruler of the world; that every event is under His direction, and promotes in its appointed measure the purposes of His wise and benevolent administration; that the natural and *moral evil which prevail, are the instruments which His wisdom has chosen, no less than the more obvious blessings of existence, to promote the highest advantage of His intelligent creatures*; that by His almighty and all-perfect superintendence of events, he will secure this result.’

This is surely sufficiently explicit: the period, then, will arrive, when men shall be brought to so true a sense of the real nature of the case, that they will thank God, not only for their being, and ‘ the more obvious blessings of existence,’ but for their crimes, and their hatred of Himself, as well as for ‘ the ‘ protracted and intolerable pains of Hell;’ and this is ‘ the ‘ Doctrine of the Scriptures !!’

‘ It is not just to suppose that the Deity exercises any such controul over his creatures, as to force them to act contrary to their will, or to violate any principle of their nature: they always act, and must act according to their will, and in conformity to their nature; but, at the same time, He secures His own purpose, by placing them in circumstances which so operate upon their nature, as *certainly to induce the conduct He requires.*

It would lead us away from the question in hand, to follow Dr. Smith through his crudities on the subject of the Will. He is pleased to instruct us, that, ‘ the term volition, expresses ‘ that state of the mind which is immediately previous to the ‘ actions which are called voluntary.’* Were he asked, And how

* How much ignorant, shallow, and impertinent meddling with metaphysical Theology, might be saved by a modest perusal of such writings as those of President Edwards.

are those actions characterized which are called voluntary? would he reply, Those which are preceded by the state of mind called volition? Dr. S. illustrates his doctrine of that Divine *educational Providence* which makes men precisely what they are, by adducing the instances of NEWTON, LUTHER, WASHINGTON, and HOWARD. But did he not perceive, that the strictness of *his* argument required him to mention names of a different character; and that to meet the obvious difficulties of his position, for Newton, he should have named *Spinoza*, for Luther, *Loyola*, or *Mahomet*, for Washington, *Catharine*, *Frederick*, or *Attila*, and for Howard, *Bonner*, or *Jeffries*? Did God make *these* men exactly what they were; and that too, for their highest good? Either Dr. Smith designedly evades the difficult and odious point of his system, or his thinking on the subject is pitiaibly shallow.

‘The train of circumstances in which an individual has been placed, has given rise to a disposition, the indulgence of which is incompatible with his own happiness and with that of his fellow-beings. This disposition it is necessary to correct: this correction is accomplished by causing him to pass through another train of circumstances, which makes him feel the evil of his conduct; and this discipline, being attended with suffering, is expressed by the term punishment.’

This is truly to give to the moral world, and its movements, the character of a monstrous farce, in which nothing is real, but the consciousness of pain, or pleasure. An impression of this kind is inevitable in contemplating the condition and destinies of mankind, if Good and Evil are believed to proceed from the same source.

‘Were there no evil in the world,’ remarks our Author, ‘there could be no possible objection to the view of the subject he has taken. Were every one virtuous and happy, every heart would rejoice to trace to the Deity its excellences and its pleasures. But how can He who is perfect in benignity, be the Author of Evil! The Deity must have some wise and benevolent object to accomplish, as the result of His administration, and that object can be nothing but the final and perfect happiness of His intelligent creatures. . . . When He placed man in such circumstances as He foresaw would be attended with the production and indulgence of evil passions, He must at the same time have foreseen, that, under His directions, *these passions* would produce, upon the whole, a *greater sum of happiness* than could have existed without them. The misery produced by sin is designed to answer the same benevolent purpose in the moral world, which the pain occasioned by hunger accomplishes in the animal.’

The reader will remark the evasion of the subject in this last sentence. Let it be granted, that the *misery* consequent upon

sin, is a purely beneficent infliction upon the subject of it,—the question is not what good the *misery* does him, but what good the *sin* does him. He is made miserable, it seems, that he may become good: but is he made wicked, that he may be made miserable, that he may become good?

Dr. Smith finds it of course, essential to his argument, to obscure from the view of his readers the immeasurable disparity which actually exists among men in the most important of all respects.

‘If every principle of the human understanding, revolts at the conclusion that the Deity is partial and capricious in His kindness, and has designed to make some individuals happy and others miserable, it is equally opposed by all the appearances of nature.—No where in nature are there traces of a partial God. Every appearance of partiality vanishes from all His great and fundamental gifts. It is only in what is justly termed the adventitious circumstances which attend His bounties, that the least indication of it can be supposed to exist; yet narrow and contracted minds confine their attention to these adventitious circumstances alone, and hence conclude that He is partial in the distribution of His goodness; while all His great and fundamental blessings are so universally and equally diffused, that they demonstrate Him to be a Being of perfect benevolence. Now we ought to reason from the great to the little, not from the little to the great; we ought to say, because in every thing of *primary importance* there is no appearance of partiality, therefore there can be really none, although in lesser things there is some inequality in the distribution of the absolute sum of enjoyment. not because there is some inequality in lesser things, therefore there must be partiality, although there is no indication of it in *any thing of real moment*. But while the universality of the Divine benevolence will be readily admitted, with respect to the blessings which have been mentioned, many persons believe that the Deity acts upon a totally different principle with regard to the distribution of moral and spiritual favour, and that He invariably confines the bestowment of this description of good to a few chosen individuals. The most popular systems of religion which prevail in the present age, are founded upon this opinion. But if it be a fact that there is no partiality in the primary and essential gift of existence, in life considered as a whole, in the minor properties and felicities of our nature, in our senses, in our intellectual and moral faculties, and in the gratification of which they are respectively the source; if all these great blessings agree in this important circumstance, that they are instruments of enjoyment to all, and that the happiness they actually do impart is universal, it must follow that there is no partiality in the distribution of moral and spiritual good. For why is this spiritual good imparted to any? Why is it superadded to the merely animal and intellectual nature of a single individual? It must be to perfect its possessor, and to make him susceptible of a greater sum of enjoyment.’

The word partiality, surely, does not express the mere

making a difference in the distribution of favours, but implies rather that unreasonable or unjust preference which, in bestowing a favour upon one object, withholds *that which is due*, from another. Conduct of this description, we presume, no one attributes to the Divine Being. But because God is not *partial*, does He therefore make *no differences* in the bestowment of the highest and ultimate good? We are unaffectedly at a loss to imagine the meaning of the passages we have just quoted. The purport of Dr. Smith's reasoning *appears* to be this, (and indeed his argument requires that it should be understood as importing,) that we may certainly infer the intention of the great Parent to bring each individual of His family to virtue and happiness, because we see no instances of His making a difference among His creatures in any respect of *primary importance*, or of *real moment*. Now we simply ask, Whence is Virtue? And is it a matter of primary importance, and of real moment? or is it to be classed among those 'adventitious circumstances,' to which 'narrow and contracted minds' are too apt to 'confine their attention'? Dr. Smith himself acknowledges, that 'were every one virtuous and happy, every heart would rejoice *to trace to the Deity* its excellences and 'its pleasures.' This is very good. But some (alas! how few!) are virtuous; and these, when they have passed here a few days of sorrow, shall be placed in a state of unchangeable happiness. Others, however,—yes, the *many*, are *not virtuous*; and they must yet be miserable, in a degree, and for a period, which no one ventures to limit: or, to express the subject in the concise language of our Lord, "The wicked shall go away into *æonian* punishment; but the righteous, into *æonian* life." Here then, whatever terms we may choose to apply to the Divine conduct, is a difference among men, if not infinitely, at least inconceivably great and momentous. Virtue, with its attendant felicity, is granted to be the gift of God; and this gift is possessed by some; it is *not* possessed by others. Some, having been formed to virtue by Him to whom we must trace 'every excellence,' are "not appointed unto wrath, but to obtain Salvation, by our Lord Jesus Christ." To others, there remains "a fearful looking for of wrath, and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversary;" they, if we are to believe Dr. Smith, having, 'by the train of circumstances in *which they have been placed*, acquired dispositions' which render them, in the language of the Scriptures, "vessels of *wrath fitted for destruction*."* There is but one supposition

* Dr. Smith's system, it is apparent, fixes the most obnoxious interpretation upon the phrase which St. Paul employs, Rom. ix. 22. KATHPTIEMENA εις απωλειαν.

which can afford support to the position Dr. Smith labours so much to maintain : monstrous and unscriptural as is the idea, he must suppose, that the sin and the punishment of the wicked, shall work for them such an *overplus* of enjoyment, as shall not only compensate to themselves for the *æonian* Hell they shall have suffered, but give them some ultimate advantage over the righteous ; otherwise, there will be still room to say, in conformity to certain ‘ popular systems of Religion,’ that ‘ the Deity confines the bestowment of moral and spiritual favour to a few chosen individuals.’

‘ Man is the creature of circumstance. He is made what he is, *entirely* by the train of events which have befallen him. The powers with which he is endowed, have been called into action by surrounding objects, and the nature of that action has been determined, by that of the objects which have induced it. Had the situation of any human being varied in the least, there must have been a proportionable difference in his character. This is so true, that any being who had *entirely* in his own hands the direction of the events of the world, and who possessed a perfect knowledge of the nature of man, might make his character whatever he pleased. There is no affection, however fixed, which he might not change ; no habit, however inveterate, which he might not eradicate. And this he might effect, as we have already shewn, without putting the least constraint upon the will, or making the slightest infringement on the liberty of the moral agent ; for by changing his circumstances, he might alter his volition, and thus excite in him the desire to do or to be, whatever he might wish him to accomplish or to become.’

The above quotation we bring forward, chiefly as it affords, indirectly, a most striking exemplification of the confusion—the absolute obstruction to thought, which is introduced into the mind along with an inadequate or mistaken hypothesis. A man is a thorough necessarian ; he explicitly attributes virtue to God ; he acknowledges the eternity and the infallibility of the Divine purposes, and then, he speaks in terms of indignant contempt of the doctrine of Election !! While he pities the gloomy Calvinist, Dr. Smith himself endeavours to establish a Reprobation which the well-informed Calvinist would abhor.

Dr. Smith thus defines Punishment :

‘ Punishment is the infliction of pain, in consequence of the neglect or violation of duty, with a view to correct the Evil.

Such a definition can do no more than to vary the terms of the question in debate. It can in no way serve the argument, but as it is a *petitio principii*. It must then be asked, Is the future condition of the wicked simply *punitive* ?

But granting both the justness and the appositeness of this definition, the hypothesis proposed to us, as alone worthy of a reasonable credence, is this, (as we have before expressed it,)

Men are made wicked, that they may be punished, that they may become good. Now, let the reader observe, that that Evil which terminates in its own ultimate correction, or destruction, adds nothing to the well-being of the universe, but, to the whole extent of it, is SIMPLE EVIL. Nor does it make any difference if we choose to call the former portion of this Evil, cause, and the latter, consequence;—the former, sin, and the latter, punishment. Dr. Smith asserts, that he who chooses simple Evil for its own sake, and rests in it as an end, is a malevolent being. But Evil that only cures itself, is simple Evil. Here then, again, we perceive, that to support the doctrine of a *benevolent causation of evil*, it must be believed, that sin will produce, to the subject of it, a positive additional advantage beyond what could result from an uninterrupted course of virtue. A little reflection will convince any one, that if Evil does not produce a *higher* good, it is *pure Evil*; and to choose pure Evil, we are told, is the property of a malevolent being. But if it be said that Evil produces a higher good, it must do so, either to the subject of it, (that is, the sinner will be the better for his sin,) or it must procure this higher good to other creatures: but this is a supposition which, we imagine, the favourers of Final Restitution could by no means allow, for there would then inevitably follow the ideas of partiality,—of the subordination of individual interests, and of the Divine Sovereignty. Indeed it would be impossible, after such an admission, to resist even Calvinism itself.

‘That all the punishment inflicted upon offenders in the present state is corrective, is universally acknowledged.’

Upon this assertion we remark in the first place, that it does not comprehend the subject. A large proportion of the suffering which we see in the world, is not corrective in its actual influence, nor even in its tendency; nor is it consequent upon the personal violation of duty. Of this sort are the sufferings of animals, and of infants. Though it were true, therefore, that the punishment inflicted upon offenders in the present state, is always corrective, the class of facts to which we refer would unequivocally indicate, that Evil is far more deeply related to the system of things, than is supposed in the shallow theory under discussion. But, in the second place, Dr. Smith’s argument is here analogical. Let him, then, adhere strictly to the limits of the analogy he adduces. Suppose it granted, that *all* the punishment inflicted upon offenders in the present state, is corrective in its *tendency*; or, to state the matter with more precision, and on the ground of the definition of punishment above quoted, let it be said, that all the *suffering* of offenders in the present state, is *punitive* in its nature. The utmost

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extent of the analogical inference would be this, that the suffering of offenders in the future state, will also *probably* be corrective in its tendency. But we see every day, that even in those cases where suffering is the most unequivocally consequent upon offence, and therefore, the most apparently corrective in its design, not the smallest progress is made towards actual amendment. So much is this the case, that the broad and prominent character of the present state, viewed as a school of virtue, is *incorrigibleness*. Beside the unquestionable evidence of surrounding facts, proving the insufficiency of correction, it is a truth explicitly established by the inspired threatening, "He that being *often reprov'd hardeneth his neck*, shall suddenly be destroyed, and that *without remedy*." Following, therefore, the analogy, we may say, It appears that such is the *independent* nature of moral evil, such the limits of that influence to which it is subjected in the Divine administration, and such the defectiveness of the proof from which it might be concluded, that *suffering* and *virtue* are connected by a natural and infallible consequence, that we may well apprehend, even although future suffering should be corrective in its *tendency*, it may *then*, as it does *now*, wholly fail of its result. An analogical argument is, of course, not *a priori*, but *a posteriori*. On the present occasion, we are not reasoning down to the fact, from what we suppose ourselves to know of the Divine character, but from the fact, as it lies before us, we attempt to infer the rule of the Divine Government, and thence derive an expectation of the future. Now an easy supposition will enable us to ascertain the real value of the analogy so much insisted upon. Let it then, for a moment, be imagined, that the present race of men, precisely such as they are, were rendered immortal; every circumstance of human life, so far as the supposition admits, continuing the same; at least, that the inducements to virtue, and the temptations to crime, should be balanced, so as to have exactly the same relative influence, that they are found in fact to possess. Now, let the reader ask himself whether, knowing what he does know of human nature, and of the ordinary operation of external causes upon it, he can feel an expectation, that the lapse of one, of two, or of ten thousand years, would find the larger proportion of these same individuals virtuous; or, that the order of events such as they are, would, of themselves, lessen the power of habit, and strengthen the power of reason; that the indurated conscience would gradually recover its moral sense; that the love of pleasure, under the continued powers of enjoyment, and means of gratification, would expire; that malignancy, ferocity, and the lust of power, instead of becoming more deepened, more dominant, and more inveterate, would yield to that evidence of experience, which proves them to be

inconsistent with true happiness. For ourselves, we cannot for a moment entertain the expectation : no one, we imagine, will sustain the ridicule of so romantic a chimera. The mind can hardly dwell upon an idea more terrific than that of the immortality of men, just as they are, in the world just as it is ; nor is the image of such a Hell the less frightful, although the moral misery be supposed still decked out in the beauties of the visible creation.

If, then, we cannot soberly imagine, that an indefinite continuance under the *corrective influences* of the present state, would necessitate a change from vice to virtue, the boasted analogy is exhausted ; it cannot prove more than it contains. From what we *see* we cannot be justified in concluding, either, that God will institute a process of infallible correction, or even that there is any other than a connexion of *occasional causation* between suffering and amendment.

We pass over, for the present, that portion of the volume, in which the Author attempts to ascertain the meaning and value of the terms applied to the subject of Future Punishment in the Scriptures, and follow Dr. Smith again in his general reasonings.

‘ It is when we consider the minute shades by which different sins and even different characters are discriminated, that we perceive in the most forcible manner the impossibility both of the doctrine of endless misery, and of limited punishment terminated by destruction. How slight is the difference between the worst good man and the best wicked man ! How impossible is it for the utmost exertion of human sagacity to distinguish between them, yet for this imperceptible difference in character there is according to these doctrines, an infinite difference in destiny ! He who is lowest in the scale of goodness, and who differs from the best wicked man only by the slightest shade, is admitted to infinite happiness : he in whom wickedness preponderates upon the whole, but in so small a measure that no human penetration can discern it, is shut out from the enjoyment of heaven ; doomed by one doctrine to inconceivable torments through endless ages, and by the other to dreadful suffering for a very protracted period, and then to endless extinction of being. According to one opinion the positive torment, according to the other the positive loss, is infinite, yet the difference in desert is indistinguishable. This is a disproportion to which there is no parallel in any of the works of the Deity, and which cannot exist, it is reasonable to believe, in any of his dispensations.’

If the Author would allow himself to follow out the principles implied in the above passage, through their inevitable consequences, he could hardly fail, we think, to perceive that, as we have already hinted, his views of the condition of the human system, and of the redemption proclaimed in the Gospel, are obscured by some capital mistake. The very point of the objection upon which he insists, falls without remedy upon Christianity itself.

Let us then attend strictly to the doctrines expressed or implied in the quotation. It is supposed, that the Good are in part bad, and the Bad, in part good; that between the best and the worst of mankind, there intervenes an absolutely indefinite moral *penumbra*—a perfectly *insensible gradation of desert*; and that the worst good man, and the best wicked man, are separated by a difference so small, that although it may be *real* in the eye of Omniscience, it is too minute ever to be made conspicuous to created intelligences, as affording the ground of a widely different adjudication. Now it is very plain, that the strictness of a *simply retributive* system, especially if it is to approve itself to the conscience of every one concerned, demands that the *gradations of reward and punishment*, should, at no point, be more *abrupt* than are the gradations of *desert*. If, in the future world, there be any where discoverable a perceptible line of separation between the righteous and the wicked,—if there be room for the one to say to the other: “Between us and “you there is a great gulf fixed,” upon that line, Equity will be outraged,—in that gulf, Justice will be merged. In place therefore of the vulgar notion of Heaven and Hell, and of the final and perfect division of mankind into two classes—the unequivocal separation of the *sheep* from the *goats*,—instead, we say, of the precise ideas of salvation and eternal life, on the one hand, and of condemnation and everlasting destruction on the other, it will, on these principles, be impossible to resist the belief in the future arrangement of men upon an indefinite scale, whose top, indeed, may reach the heavens, while its foundations rest among the fires of intolerable torment, but which shall suspend the great mass of the human system in a middle region, neither exempt from the terrors of the gulf below, nor advanced to the felicities of the glittering vault above. Such a representation follows, without the possibility of evasion, from the indefinite gradation of desert, in connexion with the doctrine of a pure system of retribution; let it, however, rest on what ground it may, it is altogether incompatible with the whole tenour, and with the most express declarations of revealed religion: if such be in fact the case, it must be acknowledged, that in their obvious meaning, the reiterated and varied representations of the Bible on the subject of Heaven and Hell, are utterly deceptive.

It seems, however, that there is an expedient by means of which the glaring incongruity of the theory proposed to us, may be somewhat obscured. In order to give it at least a semblance of conformity to the very plain averments of the inspired writers, relative to the final distribution of men into two classes, the happy, and the miserable, the saved and the lost, recourse is had to a sort of mathematical process for determining the precise

quantum of desert, as a rule of adjudication to heaven or to hell, in those border or approximating instances, if we may so speak, where the right and the strict reason of the case, quite fail in affording any ground for a widely differing destiny. We are told of 'virtue *preponderating upon the whole*' in a character, or the reverse, by which exact preponderance the individual is entitled to be classed with the righteous, or with the wicked. We may waive remark upon the palpable grossness of the idea, that goodness and guilt are things susceptible of admeasurement, like bales of merchandize; as well as the ignorance of the true nature of virtue and vice, implied in the supposition, that *character* is determinable by the *number* of good or of bad actions, or, that the *motives*, in which are truly contained the goodness or the badness of those actions, may be so counterpoised, as to make their relative value resolvable by calculation. We pass by all this; it is sufficient to remark, that the theory of an exact preponderance of virtue or of vice, as furnishing the pretence upon which men are to be divided into *two* classes, is chargeable, on the face of it, with this most egregious absurdity that it fixes a value *indefinitely great*, upon a quantum of virtue, which the very terms of the proposition suppose to be, in fact, *indefinitely small*. That *indiscernible* excess or defect of virtue, which determines this supposed preponderance, can afford a *reason* only for a proportionable difference of retribution; and if it be made to serve as the rule of a wider disparity, it can only be viewed, on the ground of this clumsy hypothesis, as a courtly fiction, framed to cloak the perversion of *Justice*.

Compared with views so incongruous, so grovelling, how beautiful, how reasonable is the *Gospel* of *Jesus Christ*! He who came to seek and to save that which was *lost*, offers to men a perfected redemption, a gratuitous *rescue* from the consequences of *mere retribution*. Instead of meting out his heaven against the needful tale of good deeds, from which the counterpoise of sins has been duly subtracted, he promises freely to *bestow*, not only eternal life, but that intrinsic fitness for it, the possession, or the want of which, furnishes at once a true, an unambiguous, and a perfect rule for the final division of mankind. Of this fitness, the first and prominent article is the conviction of individual obnoxiousness to a retribution which would entail immortal ruin, and a simple, thankful acceptance of unhought deliverance. The man, therefore, who despises this offer, is inevitably abandoned to take his portion in the world where every one shall receive *that which is his due*.

On the subject of Justice, as a Divine attribute, Dr. Smith well remarks, that

'There is no attribute concerning which such vague and mistaken notions are entertained, and as these opinions necessarily affect the

view which is taken of the most interesting doctrines, it is of great importance to establish precise and just conceptions respecting it.'

It seems to us that the way to 'establish precise and just 'conceptions respecting' any subject, is not to confound things that differ, but to keep them distinct. Now, if we are to believe that those attributes which are, as Dr. Smith expresses it, 'not 'opposite and opposing,' are therefore not truly distinguishable,—as, for instance, that goodness and justice are in reality the same thing,—we imagine ourselves to have much less *precise* conceptions upon the subject, than we had before. Is there no other way, we may ask, of exhibiting the manner in which his several attributes harmonize in the conduct of God, than that of confounding our conceptions, by taking away all distinctions from among ideas that are distinctly intelligible? But let us hear the definition which the Author proposes, with a view to give his readers 'precise conceptions on the subject.'

'Justice in God,' he asserts, 'is the treatment of every person in the manner which is best suited to his moral state.'

Surely this is childish. Such a definition would apply with nearly equal *precision* to any other of the moral attributes of Deity; and after all, it either assumes every thing, or it means nothing in the argument. What are we to understand by the phrase 'best suited'? If it means best suited to the end of making the individual ultimately virtuous, then it assumes the very point in dispute; and it moreover declares, that the creature may claim virtue on the ground of justice: to petition for it, therefore, as grace, would be hypocritical. But if it means 'best 'suited' to the ultimate object of the Divine government, then it passes quite wide of the argument: it may be granted, although it be true, that the wicked will be left to their abused liberty.

We are accustomed to think of Justice, simply, as *the rendering to every one of his due*; of Goodness, as the bestowment of that which cannot be claimed or demanded; of Mercy, as the remission of punishment, due to sin; and of the harmony of these attributes in the Divine conduct towards *sinners*, as consisting in the provision made by Sovereign Goodness, for the honour of Justice, in the exercise of Mercy. We hear much from certain quarters, of what God *owes* to His creatures, but nothing of what He *owes* to *Himself*. In truth, the Rational Theology, as it is termed, amounts, both in feeling and in fact, to the impious supposition, that the Supreme Being is the Trustee of the Universe, responsible to His creatures for the faithful discharge of His *office*, and the eventual good conduct of their concerns.

The following passage contains too gross a misuse of unquestioned fact, to be passed over unnoticed. Addressing himself to the supposed opponent of his views, Dr. Smith says,

‘How can you be happy? How can you be happy even for yourself? How great are the chances that you are not in the number of the elect! How many thousands are passed by! How few are chosen! How much more probable is it that you are among the thousands than among the few! Why do you believe that you are the favourite of Heaven? What mark is engraven on your forehead; what sensations are peculiar to your heart; what is there in your dispositions or your conduct by which you have ascertained the important fact? You think you are one of the elect. It may be so, But it may not be so. When the chances are so much against you, you cannot be certain of any thing. It is then uncertain whether you are destined to the enjoyment of unutterable and everlasting pleasure, or to the endurance of endless and inconceivable torments. You flatter yourself that the happy portion will be yours. But men easily flatter themselves. What if you should be buoying yourself up with a delusive expectation! When such happiness is at stake, when such misery impends, and when both are shrouded in such awful uncertainty, how can you enjoy a moment’s peace?’

We beg to introduce here a short extract from a work to which Dr. Smith refers in terms of the highest encomium. ‘The wicked, without doubt,’ remarks Dr. John Prior Estlin, ‘constitute *by far the greater part* of the human race. This truth, which although it is reconcilable to *infinite* benevolence, yet to a heart which is susceptible of the finest *human* affections, is, after all, a most painful consideration, *cannot* be evaded. The voice of infallibility hath spoken it; the elevated standard of Christian morality, compared with the general moral state of mankind, confirms it; every analogy of nature points out to it: “Enter ye in at the *strait* gate, for *wide* is the gate, and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there be that go in thereat, because *strait* is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and *few* there be that find it.”’ Does Dr. Smith assent to this statement, or is he a Christian only while he can stand in the *sun-shine* of revelation, and a Deist, when clouds and darkness are round about it: We will presume that he *does* believe that the many are lost, that the few are saved; that many are called, but few chosen. Now then, we will suppose some one, triumphing in the unclouded brightness of Deism, who should upbraid the Author of these Illustrations, with his gloomy and horrible persuasion. ‘How,’ may such a one say, ‘can you be happy? How can you be happy even for yourself? How great are the chances that you are not in the number of the saved! How many thousands are passed by! How few are chosen! How much more probable is it that you are among the thousands, than among the few! Why do you believe that you are the favourite of heaven? What mark is engraven on your forehead; what sensations are peculiar to your heart; what is there in your

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 ' stake, when such misery impends, and when both are shrouded
 ' in such awful uncertainty, how can you enjoy a moment's
 ' peace?' To so pointed a remonstrance, what would Dr. Smith
 reply? We may suppose him to speak thus, and we think the
 caviller would be well answered. 'Firmly persuaded as I am
 ' of the truth of Christianity, however painful may be the thought,
 ' and to whatever odium or ridicule the confession may expose
 ' me, I do confess to believe that *a future state will increase*
 ' *the misery of by far the greater part of the human race,*
 ' *for a very protracted period.* I acknowledge too, that this
 ' conviction is incompatible with the thoughtless and brutish
 ' mirth of the Epicurean; and with the peace, or rather the in-
 ' sensibility, which results from a stupid and wilful scepticism.
 ' So far, therefore, you have an apparent advantage over me,
 ' and so far I must consent to lie under your pity, and to endure the
 ' obnoxiousness of my belief. But, if the *fact be so*, it would
 ' not be remedied—it would be aggravated—by my incredulity.
 ' With respect, therefore, to my fellow-men, I seek to derive my
 ' peace of mind, not in blinding myself to their sad condition,
 ' but in the benevolent attempt, so far as I have opportunity, to
 ' induce a happy change in that condition. As to myself, I
 ' perceive that the volume which constrains me to hold the
 ' opinion you upbraid me with, commands the righteous to
 ' *rejoice—to rejoice always*, in the recollection and expecta-
 ' tion of their *personal* felicity. From which I infer that
 ' there must be something intrinsical and satisfactory, whereon
 ' this special and personal confidence may be *reasonably*
 ' founded. And therefore, although, if I am virtuous, that
 ' virtue is so the gift of Him from whom all *good* things de-
 ' scend, that I may said to be '*chosen*' to, as well as fitted for sal-
 ' vation—I say although this is the case, you are guilty of a gross
 ' misrepresentation, in stating it as if the hope of personal sal-
 ' vation could rise no higher than may be justified by a mathe-
 ' matical calculation of the chances against my being in the
 ' number of the happy few. If I *am* of this number, I may
 ' boldly say, there *are* sensations *peculiar* to my heart: for
 ' instance; I love the Creator more than the creature; and I

'would unhesitatingly choose rather to suffer affliction in the paths of obedience, than accept the pleasures of sin for a season. There is too, in my disposition and in my conduct, that by which I may *ascertain* the important fact. Especially I am disposed thankfully and humbly to accept the terms of that mercy which, *as an offender, I need*; and in some measure, I evince the sincerity of this disposition in my outward conduct. So far, therefore, as this is the case, it is not true, as you affirm, that the hope of future happiness is shrouded in an awful uncertainty.'

We are aware, that to some of our readers, assumptions and pretended reasonings such as the above, may seem barely entitled to serious remark. But they must remember, that assumptions not at all better founded, and reasonings not at all more profound, avail with a large class of well educated, half-thinking persons, to tranquillize their minds under an habitual and systematic contempt of scriptural evidence, in instances where language has done all that *language* can do, to convey the intention of him who employs it. If nothing more be done, it is a great point gained, to intimidate the *nonchalance* of demonstration. This is especially the case, when the attributes and the conduct of the Supreme Being—what He *must* do, and what He *will* do—are brought in question. We are in the road towards Truth, the moment we enter upon the overwhelming apprehension of our yet undetermined relation to the *Infinite*. The glimpse of a moment—a confused suspicion which the mind is unable either to retain or to recal, may work for us the first movements of an auspicious modesty. So happy a scepticism may value as much to us in its moral influence, as the cloudless comprehension of the first created mind. Under its guidance, we thankfully set ourselves to gather up from what He has Himself revealed of His character, so much knowledge of the One, the Infinite, the Perfect Being, as is compatible with the present infancy of our understandings. Subsequent reasonings and demonstrations, if scrutinized, will prove to be nothing more than the attempt, by the aid of arbitrary signs, to subject the precious indestructible fragments we have collected, to some artificial arrangement.

It is true, there may be views of the nature of Evil, and of its relation to the Divine agency, which we might avow to be satisfactory to ourselves as individuals; but we would introduce no principles which, whether justly or not, might be called *hypothetical*. A just apprehension of this subject *needs* not include a single abstruse or doubtful discussion. Were we called to give advice to one whose fond confidence in this doctrine of Universal Restoration, appeared to be shaken, we should suggest an inquiry of the following kind: What is the fundamental

truth supposed or implied in the very rudiments of our moral constitution, in the involuntary dictates of conscience, in the aspect and general purport of revealed religion? Is it not this, that the Governor of the world, and the Judge of men, is *not* implicated in evil, nor on any ground *obliged* to effect its extermination? It has been argued,* that Man is treated *as though* he were free, and *therefore*, he is free. May we not in like manner say, God treats and deals with offenders, *as though* He were strictly unimplicated in the offence, and *as though* He were absolutely free from *obligation* to remove it, and *therefore*, such is in truth the case. And thus, while the first principles of the moral system, the voice of unsophisticated conscience, and the language of revelation, all appear to *imply* that Evil is essentially Evil,—that it is strictly independent of the Divine causation, and is related to the agency of the Supreme Being, solely in the way of beneficent and limited counteraction, and that this limited counteraction is perfectly free,—and while on the ground of the Divine *veracity*, we are justified in inferring the truth of these principles, from their implication in the moral system; we may affirm it to be a groundless assumption, on which rests this specious demonstration, that the power, the wisdom, and the goodness of God, ensure the issue of Evil, in the highest well-being of its subject.

It may be asked whether God, the Judge and the Saviour of men, presents himself to his creatures, as the subjects of sin and misery, under an aspect *essentially different* from that in which a good man, a benefactor appears, when he enters an hospital, or a prison? It seems, indeed, indispensable to the existence of those mutual sentiments which are supposed to connect the wretched and the guilty with their benefactor, that there should be no room for the suspicion of the latter being in the remotest way so implicated in the calamity of the former, as that they may imagine him to be *bound*, to the utmost extent of his power, to repair the injury they have sustained.

If such a conviction of *ill-deserving*, as can be in no danger of approximating to the mere consciousness of *misfortune*, be indispensable to a right temper of mind; then is it necessary that we believe in the essential difference between good and evil, and the independent origination of the latter. If an unmixed and an unfeigned *gratitude* be requisite to our religious well-being, then must we acknowledge a wholly gratuitous interposition, as the source of personal salvation. And if these sentiments be essential ingredients in the virtue of *offending* creatures, then we have a solid ground, far more satisfactory than could be afforded by any pretended demonstration *à priori*,

* See Butler's *Analogy*.

on which to found the persuasion that the Supreme Being is no more implicated in the existence of Evil, nor in any way more *obliged* to effect its extermination, than is the human benefactor who visits an hospital or a prison. No hypothesis whatever is here assumed, relative to the origin of Evil: the argument is altogether *à posteriori*. It is necessary that we should feel as though the case were thus, and thus, and therefore, because God is true, it is thus, and thus. Now, the very terms of the proposition which asserts that Evil is not from God, and that the definite rescue from Evil is purely gratuitous, imply the fallacy of the position, assumed as the foundation of the argument for Universal Restoration, namely, that the entire extermination of Evil, is, *by some kind of necessity*, contained in the ultimate design of the universe.

Here then, we repeat, is that point of the question, on which it behoves the advocates of the doctrine in dispute, to spend their strength. Hitherto it seems not to have occupied their thoughts. They are, no doubt, at liberty to assume again what as yet they always have assumed; but in so doing, they will only establish the justness of the remark, that the party self-distinguished as the professors of 'Rational Christianity,' is characterized, with a singular uniformity, by shallowness of thinking on questions of abstruse Theology.

We must briefly remark upon that part of Dr. Smith's volume, in which he adduces and discusses the evidence of Scripture upon the subject in hand. He employs many pages to very little purpose, as we think, in a critical examination of the terms *Αἰων*, *Αἰωνιος*, *Απολλυμι*, *ολιθρος*, *θανατος*, and *κολασις*. No peculiar obscurity appears to attach to any one of these words. We imagine that a person only moderately familiar with the Greek Scriptures, cannot fail to know all that is important to be known, for the present controversy, of the use and extent of these terms. The power of language is by no means solely or chiefly derived from the individual signification of words. The intention of a writer or speaker is primarily ascertained on the ground of the conventional sense of words taken in combination. The conventional sense of certain phrases and modes of expression, is, of course, more determinate than that of individual words; if it were not so, as all words have more or less extent of meaning, thought could never be communicated. If we must ever be retrograding from the obvious conventional intention of a sentence, to the power of the words of which it consists, language will be deprived of its faculty to convey any determinate proposition; it is resolved into an enigmatical mass, in which all meanings may float, indifferently and at large. Now, this is the very treatment to which the language of the Bible is every day subjected by theorists. Because the averments of the inspired

writers are held to have a claim upon belief, and to be decisive of controversy, therefore they must be deprived of the dangerous privilege of using words as other men use them. They are, in fact, considered as lying under a sort of grammatical outlawry, and are denied the benefit of the common rules of social intercourse. When they would speak as honest men, they are supposed still to be cloaking some mental reservation; their obvious intention is rejected, as having no claim to attention, and every one thinks himself at liberty to resolve each sentence into its elements, and to recombine those elements at his discretion. God, in speaking to men, by man as his instrument, must unquestionably be understood as submitting his message to the established usages of human communication. On this principle it is affirmed, that the Divine veracity and our correlative responsibility, are involved in the rule, that the opinion or intention which we should not fail to attribute to a profane writer, using such or such expressions, are, without reference to the nature of the doctrine therein implied, to be received as the opinion or intention of the inspired writer who does employ them. In proportion to the infinite moment of Revealed Truth, is the importance of adhering to the principle, that inspired persons spoke and wrote under the presumption that they should be heard and read as other men are heard and read; so that, when they employ those uncompounded forms of speech, which are ordinarily understood to convey an absolute sense, they also shall be allowed to intend an absolute sense. He who informs us of an intelligible fact, in customary terms, has a right, on the strength of his credibility, to be exempt from an etymological scrutiny of the words he employs. A person of grave character assures us, that he has witnessed a shipwreck, and he laments to add, that '*the people on board were lost.*' But the word *lost*, it may be argued, primarily signifies *not found*; and therefore the statement may only mean that the crew were cast upon the shore of some distant country, from whence it is not probable they will find the opportunity of returning to their homes: they are thus *relatively lost*, that is, lost to their country and their friends. Or *lost* may mean *distressed*, *undone*, ruined in their affairs; and so nothing more after all may be affirmed concerning them, than that they escaped from the sea with their bare lives. At any rate, where there is this acknowledged ambiguity in the sense of the term, where it *may* bear a more favourable construction, is it not the symptom of a malignant complacency in misfortune, needlessly to affix to it so *harsh* an import, as to conclude that these unhappy persons were literally and irrecoverably drowned?—If the common place criticism on the Greek words above mentioned, amounts to any thing better than such miserable trifling, in truth it escapes our apprehension.

The mind that has not sacrificed all its ingenuousness to the perverseness of theological controversy, will meet with no serious difficulty in the application of the rule upon which we insist. It may be thus exemplified: Socrates is represented by his disciple, as holding the opinion, that those who, from the flagitious nature of their crimes, appear to be *incurably vicious*, (ἀνίατος ἐκείν,) shall be cast by Just Fate, (ποσσηκυσσά μοιρα,) or equitable retribution, (εἰς τὸν τάρταρον,) into Tartarus, (οὐθεν ΟΥΠΟΤΕ ἐκδαινέσιν.) out of which they never come. In reading this passage with the feeling of entire indifference as to the opinion either of Socrates or of Plato, our first impression is, that no idea was present in the mind of the one, or of the other, but that of incorrigible vice, and its permanent consequence. But suppose it was contended that the adjective, ἀνίατος, *insanabilis, immedicabilis*, incurable, from which the adverb here used is formed, may be taken in a comparative sense, as implying only *hard to be cured*,—and again, that this οὐποτε ἐκδαινέουσιν may well consist with the idea of a long or uncertain detention in the place of punishment; to such a criticism we should reply, that had there been in the mind of the writer a secret persuasion that the nature of things admits not the supposition either of incorrigible vice or of hopeless punishment, unless we suppose him influenced in his choice of words by the sinister design to frighten men with a doctrine he did not himself believe, another mode of expression and other terms would certainly have occurred to him. The import of the sentence does not depend upon the narrow meaning or the latitude of the words individually considered: according to the understood principles upon which ideas are communicated, this is the phraseology of one who would convey an absolute and unqualified idea. And were the opinion of Socrates or of Plato made the rule of our faith, we should hold ourselves obliged to believe that there ‘*are* incorrigible offenders, who shall be cast into Hell, out of which they never come.’ Now, let the quotation we have here introduced, be immediately compared with the promise uttered by our Lord, and reported by his disciple, John, (Rev. iii, 12.) “Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the Temple of my God, and, ἐξω οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃ ἐτι, he shall go no more out.” The Christian scruples not to rest an infinite hope upon the apparent intention of such a phrase as this, nor does it lie within the power or the province of a minute criticism, to impair the stability of his expectation. If there be certainty in language, *this* is the language of one who, without a meaning in reserve, pledges his veracity upon the promise of permanent felicity. Let the reader turn to the several passages in the Gospels, which contain our Lord’s denunciation of future punishment; or we may adduce as a sufficient example, the words of

St. Paul : " Those," he declares, " who obey not the Gospel of " our Lord Jesus Christ, shall be punished with, *ολεθρον αιωνιον*, " eternal destruction, from the presence of the Lord, and from " the glory of His power." We will imagine this sentence divested, for a moment, of its allowed Divine authority, and read simply as a quotation from Jerom, or Augustine. Will any one affirm, that he should hesitate, from such a passage, to attribute to the writer the opinion of a final condemnation? Or, we may ask, Is it some deficiency of explicitness, some symptom of hesitation or designed ambiguity, or is it any deviation from the ordinary forms of speech, when an absolute sense is intended to be conveyed, which suggests the necessity of *criticising* so simple a phraseology? If the advantage which mankind concede to all but those whose sincerity they have found reason to suspect, be granted to the inspired writers, it will seem hard to doubt of the idea which occupied their minds when speaking of the future condition of the wicked. But withhold this advantage, and we take from them the means or power of expressing any *absolute proposition* whatsoever. They are not, indeed, denied the use of *words*, but they are effectually denied the use of *speech*: its determinate faculty does not result from the fixed and unalienable efficiency of single words, (such an efficiency it is not in the nature of *words* to possess,) but from the common principles of our nature, as well as from the boundaries and necessities of the medium in which thought is conveyed. When the time shall arrive, that heresy is to expire, men will learn to read the Bible, (as it respects ascertaining the intention of the inspired writers,) simply as they peruse an epistle from a friend, or the daily records of passing events. We shall then cease to hear of 'allowable interpretations,' and 'possible senses,' and conjectural emendations, and all the other cant of crooked scepticism writhing beneath the heavy heel of Truth.

But the passages of the Gospels, whose apparent sense it is attempted to invalidate, should be perused under the supposition that our Lord, who is surely free from the imputation of a sinister design, uttered the threatenings recorded by the Evangelists, with the intention to suggest, or to favour the doctrine of Universal Restoration; at least, if that doctrine be true, it could never be his design to generate in the minds of his hearers an idea, not only absolutely false, but, as is pretended, highly injurious to the Divine character, and quite destructive of all the sanctions of morality. Nevertheless, standing, as he did, within prospect of the invisible worlds, Himself the Arbiter of human destinies, and proclaiming to the subjects of his own future sentence, that ultimate article of revelation which sums up its address to the passions of hope and fear, he thus predicts the forms of the Last Day: " Having gathered before the

* throne of his glory all nations, and separated them one from another, as a shepherd divideth the *sheep* from the *goats*:—
 “ Then shall the KING say unto them on his right hand, Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. Then also, shall he say unto them on the left hand, Depart from me ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels. And these shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into everlasting life.” Surely, this passage, in the nature of its imagery, in the uniformity of its wording and construction, in the naked, forensic explicitness of its style, has every thing that can be imagined of sedulous provision against the possibility of doubt, subterfuge, or evasion. The tenor of these remarkable verses, and the entire want, throughout, of any mitigating or ambiguous phrase, appear in the most forcible light, when viewed in contrast with the eminent *humanity* of our Lord’s personal character. It is not the heated and angry enthusiast—it is not even Peter, or James, or Paul, it is *Jesus* who speaks;—He, of whom it is recorded, that he ever ‘melted in compassion’ at the sight even of the lighter circumstances of human misery. It is Jesus who predicts the day when he shall drive impenitent men from his presence, with the language of execration.

If, with respect to the more direct affirmations of Scripture, it appears that our Lord expresses himself in the terms which would naturally present themselves to a man of frank character and upright intentions, who designed to inspire the apprehension of a hopeless condemnation, as the consequence of impenitence, the same thing may be affirmed in regard to the *indirect* branch of the evidence which bears upon the question. While, with the doctrine of Universal Restoration in our minds, passages of the first class necessitate the suspicion of some verbal chicanery, some fraudulent etymological subterfuge, those of the latter class, including the parables, images, and incidental allusions, which refer to the future condition of the wicked, must, on this supposition, without an exception that we remember, be charged with a remarkable *infelicity* of illustration and inappropriateness of style. It appears to us, that one at least of the following ideas, forms the basis of the thought in all these parables, images, and allusions, namely—*irremediable loss—hopeless, intrinsic worthlessness—or final abandonment on the part of the disposing Agent*. “What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and lose his soul?” “Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.” “Fear Him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell” “He that believeth not the Son, shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him.” Again: “The ax

“ is laid to the root of the trees ; therefore, every tree that
 “ bringeth not forth good fruit, is *hewn down* and *cast into the*
 “ *fire.*” “ He will gather his wheat into the garner, but He will
 “ burn up the *chaff*, with unquenchable fire.” “ The *tares*
 “ are the children of the wicked one : as, therefore, the tares are
 “ gathered and *burned in the fire*, so shall it be in the end of
 “ the world.” “ If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth
 “ as a branch, and is *withered*, and men gather them, and cast
 “ them into the fire, and *they are burned.*” “ They gathered
 “ the good into vessels, but *cast the bad away*” “ Those
 “ mine enemies, bring them hither, and *slay* them before me.”
 “ He will miserably destroy (κακῶς ἀπολίσσει) those wicked men.”
 “ On whomsoever this stone shall fall, it shall *grind him to*
 “ *powder.*” Nor, as we may remark in this place, must it be
 considered as an insignificant circumstance, that the specific
 pathologic symptom of *despair*, that ultimate condition of the
 mind which results from the dominance of an unmixed emotion,
 is the one uniformly attached by our Lord, in his brief de-
 scriptions of future wo : “ There shall be weeping and gnashing
 “ of teeth.” This phrase is not appropriate, if the thing it is
 intended to signify, be the pungent sorrow of hopeful correction ;
 but it perfectly accords with the import of the above cited pas-
 sages, if it be considered as designed to express the consciousness
 of having sustained an irremediable loss.

There is a branch of Scripture evidence, bearing upon the
 question in debate, to which we find not even an allusion, in the
 volume before us. It is, perhaps, the more deserving of at-
 tention, from the very circumstance of its having an indirect,
 although an inseparable connexion with the subject. Those of
 our readers whose thoughts have frequently rested upon the
 painful consideration of human perdition, will remember, we
 doubt not, to have had, at times, a train of ideas similar to
 the following, pass through their minds.

‘ Unhappy Man ! he enters upon the unalienable gift of
 ‘ existence, as though he were the inheritor alone of a day, and of
 ‘ its trifles. He is born blind to his own incalculable destiny—
 ‘ blind to his relation to the Infinite Being. Almost all the
 ‘ circumstances of his condition, seem contrived to aggravate
 ‘ the incredible fatuity, which impels him to balance the transient
 ‘ good of animal life, against the interests of an endless duration.
 ‘ The ceaseless voice and solicitation of grovelling wishes—
 ‘ even the vulgar familiarity with existence, produced by the
 ‘ degrading conditions of the body, and the uniform repetition
 ‘ of minute events, all seem burdened with the same fatal advice :
 ‘ “ Forget God—forget thyself.” The thousand enticements of
 ‘ this painted scene, are leagued to ensure the oblivion of a futurity
 ‘ beyond the grave.’—The grave ! This mound of earth, what is

‘ it but a grave ? Yet he forgets, that the gay hillock on which he
 ‘ sports and dreams, is truly the tottering crust of a fathomless
 ‘ abyss. Nor have counteracting realities ever the force of
 ‘ these delusive impressions. That first of truths, which it
 ‘ makes the heaven or the hell of the intelligent universe
 ‘ around him *to know*, Man only *believes*, with a variable con-
 ‘ viction. Alas, the amazing anomaly ! he does but *believe*
 ‘ that there is a God. Here then, surely, is the sole cause of
 ‘ his error, his crime, and his misery. May it not be imagined,
 ‘ that the moment of his awaking in the sensible presence of
 ‘ Almighty God,—the moment which brings home to his con-
 ‘ sciousness the *Great Truth*, will work the instantaneous, at
 ‘ least the incipient rectification of his abused affections ? How-
 ‘ ever unworthily these affections may have wandered, will they
 ‘ not then, by an impulse involuntary and irresistible, revert
 ‘ towards the incomparable object of love ? It may even be
 ‘ conceived, that he will offer himself the willing sacrifice to
 ‘ offended law. But if we may not go thus far, is it credible
 ‘ that rebellion will survive the full apprehension of unbounded
 ‘ power ? Will there be sin when there is no more delusion ?
 ‘ Will not the entire passiveness of submission, succeed the first
 ‘ glimpse of the appalling apparatus of punishment, or the first
 ‘ proof of its omnipotent efficiency ?’

We need not determine abstractedly to how great a degree of attention such a view of the subject might have been entitled ; it is enough that the principle on which it proceeds, receives a full reply in that branch of revealed truth, which we wish here to introduce.

It is, indeed, admitted, that the evidence here referred to, does not *immediately* relate to the future condition of the human system ; but it is nevertheless directly conclusive against the whole of the argument in favour of Universal Restoration. That this is the case, we have the virtual acknowledgement of its advocates, inasmuch as they find it indispensable roundly to deny the facts which this evidence substantiates. We enter into no contest with Sadducean effrontery. It is the doctrine of the Bible, that there exists a permanent revolt among creatures who are subjected to no delusion ; who lie beneath the immediate perception of the Divine Presence ; who are fully competent, both by original knowledge and by experience, to estimate the madness, and to predict the consequence, of their opposition to Omnipotence. God is love :—but He is hated by an unnumbered company of His creatures, who have seen Him as He is. God is perfectly beneficent :—but this beneficence consists with a defection, which, as it is palliated neither by ignorance, nor by physical disadvantage, leaves no resource among the moral means of restoration. All that is revealed on this subject, tends to establish the opinion, (on other grounds pro-

bable,) that in the presence of God, moral being is necessarily final, and that, therefore, the apparent disadvantage to which Man is at present subjected, is truly the essential condition of a state, in which *change* shall be possible.

Hell, we are told, is a reformatory, dressed and furnished for the willing subjects of a painful cure; but Hell, the Bible assures us, is the appointed prison of beings, of whose unchanged malevolence and maleficence it records the proofs, from age to age. A little effort of the mind, perhaps, is needful to bring home to our thoughts the plain fact of the case. It is nothing but a feebleness of the understanding, which disposes us to think of an intelligible matter of history, as though it were a mere abstraction. If *Satan* be an abstraction, so is *Hannibal*. Will any one dare go through the proof in detail, and affirm that the existence and proper personality of the latter, is *better attested* than those of the former? "The Devil was a murderer" from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there "is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own, for *He is a liar*, and the father of it." He is by eminence, "The Enemy;" and the designation he acquired in the first scene of human history, it is predicted he will sustain to the period of its consummation. He is "that old Serpent; the Devil;" The Deceiver, and Destroyer of men; "The Ruler of the darkness of the present age." He is the ADVERSARY, upon whose head the DELIVERER has already trodden, and whom the God of peace shall bruise shortly beneath the Christian's foot.

Were we then left to gather our opinion on the subject of Future Punishment, alone from the indirect intimations which abound in the inspired volume, and especially from the testimony it bears to the permanent character of the being into whose arms it is expressly declared impenitent men shall fall, we should be justified in rejecting the doctrine of Universal Restoration, as irreconcilable with these intimations. They would, indeed, afford ground for an apprehension, in the terror of which thought is lost, that the world in which we move, has passed within the precincts—within the empire of Infinite Evil; and this Evil, not a mere metaphysical liability, but Evil positive, and embodied in the person and purpose of an Enemy of unknown power, and unmixed malevolence. He who mocks, may mock—he who doubts, may doubt, till the day of proof: but the Christian will "pass the time of his sojourning here in *fear*;" apprized, as he is, that "his Adversary the Devil, as "a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour."

We cannot conclude, without suggesting the eminent propriety of observing the bounds of a Christian—we might add, of a philosophical modesty, upon this subject. It is the first

office of this modesty to remind us, that *Testimony is our inheritance*, while speculation is a profession of ever questionable title. His own intellectual and moral competency, is the object of a Christian's scepticism. The sceptic doubts of every thing, but his powers. The former lightly esteems *the uncertain*, but cleaves to the *certain*: the latter contemns *the certain*, and idolizes *the uncertain*; he sacrifices his comfort, his usefulness, perhaps his soul, to the impatient wilfulness of thought.

It is a further and not less important dictate of this modesty, addressed indeed to a different order of persons, that we suffer not the specious zeal of forward credence, to carry us beyond the limits of the inspired testimony. The threatenings of revealed religion, be it ever remembered, are the sanction of its promises: charged with this sanction, the promise becomes a message of "death unto death," to the disobedient. The Gospel offers to men a positive good. The mere *destitution* of the Gospel involves an irremediable *loss*; but the *rejection* of the Gospel, is a crime which entails the endless punishment of endless remorse. Thus, while the Preachers of Mercy are authorized to say, "Whosoever will, let him come, and take the waters of life freely," they are bound to affirm, and the affirmation is the highest work of charity, that the man who hears the invitation of the Gospel, and rejects it, either by a formal contempt, or by the base preference of present pleasures, passes from the season of his probation, beneath the infinite burden of hopeless immortality.

Art. V. *The Case of Eusebius of Cæsarea, Bishop, and Historian*, who is said by Mr. Nolan, to have mutilated Fifty Copies of the Scriptures sent to Constantine the Great; examined. By Thomas Falconer, A. M. Formerly Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. 8vo. pp. 15. Oxford University Press, 1818.

THE subject discussed in this well written tract, is the assertion of Mr. Nolan, the author of an elaborate work "On the integrity of the Greek Vulgate," who, in support of the hypothesis which he has attempted to establish, affirms, that Eusebius of Cæsarea erased certain passages from certain copies of the Gospels and Epistles, having availed himself of the opportunity which presented itself when he was commanded by Constantine the Great, to provide transcripts from the MSS. of the books of the New Testament preserved at Cæsarea, for the use of the new churches at Constantinople. This bold assertion Mr. Falconer examines with the most patient attention, and establishes, completely to our satisfaction, the inconclusive nature of the arguments by which its author endeavours to substantiate what is, in fact, a 'mere creation of fancy.'

An assertion of so sweeping a description, which attributes the alteration of the Scriptures, the erasure of parts of the sacred text from ancient codices, and the consequent corruption of the records of our faith, to an individual by name, as a specific charge, should be hazarded only on the strongest evidence. From inconsideration and ignorance in some cases, and from the heated temper of theological controvertists in others, general imputations of this kind of proceedings, have been not unfrequently insinuated against different parties. The improbability, however, that such a course could be adopted without being detected and exposed, and the absence of the proofs requisite to support the assumed fact, have, in the estimation of all competent judges of such matters, obviated any supposed difficulties of this nature. Charges of this general description are indeed too vague and indefinite to be considered as of much consequence. But the case is very different when a particular accusation is fixed on an individual: such a case deserves our most serious attention, and only on evidence absolutely conclusive should we pronounce a verdict which is to consign the accused to the loss of reputation in a point, where above all others, one would wish to see the character of every Christian writer free from blame.

Mr. Nolan's charge against Eusebius is not founded on the testimony of facts adduced by any opponents of the Historian of Cæsarea, but is derived from the supposed evidence which, it is imagined, is to be found in a letter addressed by Constantine to Eusebius, which the latter has preserved in his life of that emperor, and particularly from the following passage of it.

“πρέπει γὰρ κατεφάνη τὸ δηλῶσαι τῇ σῇ συνέσει, ὅπως ἂν πεντήκοντα σμάρτια ἐν διφθέραις ἐγκατασκέυοις ἐνανάγνωστὰ τε, καὶ πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν εὐμετακόμιστα ὑπὸ τεχνιτῶν καλλιγράφων καὶ ακριβῶς τὴν τέχνην ἐπισταμένων γραφῆναι κελεύσεις τῶν θείων δηλαδὴ γραφῶν, ὧν μάλιστα τὴν τ' ἐπιτκινῇ καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λόγῳ ἂν ἀγκαίαν εἶναι γινώσκεις.”

Euseb. Vita Const. Lib. iv. c. 36. P. 646. ed. Reading.

“The authority with which Eusebius was vested,” says Mr. Nolan, “to prepare this edition, was conveyed in the following terms, as nearly as the original can be literally expressed.”

“It seemeth good unto us to submit to your consideration, that you would order to be written on parchment prepared for the purpose by able scribes, and accurately skilled in their art, fifty codices, both legible and portable, so as to be useful; namely, of the sacred Scriptures, whereof chiefly, you know, the preparation and use to be necessary to the doctrine of the church.” p. 26. pp. 4, 5.

Such is Mr. Nolan's translation of the preceding passage, and from this passage, so translated, he draws the following conclusions.

“If we now compare the authority thus committed to Eusebius

which seems to have vested him with a discretionary power of selecting chiefly those sacred Scriptures, which he knew to be useful and necessary to the doctrine of the Church, with the sacred text, as it is marked in the corrected edition lately put forth by M. Griesbach, we shall perhaps discover how far it is probable he acted to the full extent of his powers, and removed those parts of Scripture from the circulated edition, which he judged to be neither conducive to use nor doctrine, and which are now marked as probable interpolations in the received text." p. 26.' p. 8.

Were we to assume the accuracy of Mr. Nolan's translation of the letter to Eusebius, we should even then dispute the validity of his conclusions. But the correctness of his rendering is more than doubtful. Mr. Falconer properly inquires, whether there is any Greek term in the letter, which denotes an edition; any thing which denotes the conveyance of the Imperial authority, or even the intimation of the Imperial pleasure, to do any thing more than to get fifty well-written copies of the Scriptures, of a convenient form, for the service of the churches at Constantinople. And these inquiries he very satisfactorily determines in the negative. The correctness of the following criticism is we think indisputable.

'Let us examine however in what words and in what manner Constantine "invests" Eusebius with this power, according to Mr. Nolan's version of the instrument. "It seemeth good unto us to submit to your consideration, that you would order to be written." From this translation it would seem, that Eusebius might consider whether he would order these copies to be made or not, and that it would depend upon the result of this deliberation, whether he would issue his orders for this purpose. The fact however is, that the words translated—"submit to your consideration," do not convey this meaning. They are these, *πρέπον γὰρ κατεφάνη τὸ δηλῶσαι τῇ σὴ συνέσει*. Similar phraseology is to be found in another letter of Constantine, addressed to several bishops at Antioch. It is also used in another letter of Constantine, in which he commends Eusebius for refusing the overseership, or bishoprick, of the church at that place. "But your *σύνεσις* acted very properly in refusing the overseership of the church at Antioch," *ἀλλ' ἡ σὴ σύνεσις ὑπέρευγε πεποιήκει, παραιτουμένη τὴν ἐπισκοπίαν πῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιοχείαν ἐκκλησίας*. And again in another passage; "at which council it will be necessary for your *σύνεσις* to be present;" *ὣν τῷ συμβουλίῳ καὶ τῇ σὴν συνέσει παρῆναι δεήσει*. When Constantine addresses the bishops Theodotus, Theodorus, Narcissus, Ætius, Alpheius, and the other bishops at Antioch, he uses the same words; "I have read what was written by your *σύνεσις*;" *ἀνέγνων τὰ γραφέντα παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας συνέσεως*. Lib. iii. p. 619. Vit. Constant. ed. Reading. And in the close of the same letter we have the words which Mr. N. translates, "submit to your consideration," *καλῶς εὖν ἔχει δηλῶσαι τῇ συνέσει ὑμῶν*; and in another passage, "your *σύνεσις* will be able to regulate the election in such a manner, that—" *δυνήσεται ὑμῶν ἡ σύνεσις οὕτω ρυθμίσαι τὴν χειροτονίαν ὡς, κ. τ. λ.*

'I conclude therefore, that the word *σύνεσις* is a term denoting an

abstract good quality, a virtue, or excellent property, which it was usual to convert into an expression of compliment, or a title of respect.—Ἡ σὺ ΣΥΝΕΣΙΣ, “your intelligence.” “It seemed proper to signify to your intelligence that,” &c. This I conceive to be the proper explanation and force of the expression used by Constantine” pp 5, 6.

Mr. Nolan’s translation is exceptionable in other particulars: “*for the purpose*” has not any equivalent expression in the original, nor is it implied in the term *εγκατασκευαίς*. The copies of the Scriptures ordered by Constantine, were to be written on well prepared parchment, *ἐν διφθέραις ἑγκατασκευαίς*, by scribes who excelled in the art of beautiful writing, and who were celebrated for the accuracy of their transcripts; and these particular copies were to be ‘both easy to be read, and easily portable for use.’ They were for the use of the churches which Constantine had lately built at Constantinople, and were therefore to be prepared by the most excellent artists. Such, we agree with Mr. Falconer, was the purport of the directions conveyed to Eusebius in the Emperor’s letter, and these directions, we suppose, were transmitted to the Bishop of Cæsarea, as one who well understood the manner in which the required copies could best be provided for the accommodation of the churches. Such we take to be the sense of Ὡς μάλιστα τὴν τ’ ἐπισκευὴν καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τῶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λόγῳ ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι γινώσκεις, rendered by Mr. Nolan, ‘whereof chiefly, you know, the preparation and use to be necessary to the doctrine of the church;’ but for which rendering Mr. Falconer proposes to read, ‘necessary in consideration of, ‘having regard to the nature and constitution of the church.’ The doctrine of the church was, we think, entirely out of the question.

The construction which Mr. Nolan puts upon the letter of Constantine, it will have been noticed, is, that Eusebius was invested with the *discretionary power* of preparing such a text of the Sacred Scriptures, as he might judge most consonant to the doctrine of the church. But a writer must possess a strange faculty at drawing conclusions, who can deduce a position of this kind from the Imperial letter. ‘All the directions,’ Mr. Falconer justly remarks, ‘relate to externals, to the parchment, the writing, the size, the immediate transmission of the copies, the mode of their conveyance to Constantinople, and the person who was entrusted with the care of them on the road.’

Mr. Nolan, on the supposed credit of the passage in Eusebius, which we have already quoted, and which Mr. Falconer has clearly shewn to be erroneously translated, and altogether misconstrued by him, imputes to the bishop a daring and criminal proceeding: ‘He removed those parts of Scripture which he judged to be neither conducive to use nor doctrine, and which are now marked as probable interpolations in the received text.’

‘ They amount *principally* to the following : The account of the
‘ woman taken in adultery, John vii. 52. viii. 11. and three texts,
‘ which assert in the strongest manner the mystery of the Tri-
‘ nity, of the Incarnation, and Redemption. 1 John v. 7. 1 Tim.
‘ iii. 16. Acts xx. 28.’ In this manner did Eusebius, according
to Mr. Nolan, exercise the ‘ *discretionary power*’ with which
he was vested, of *selecting* chiefly those sacred Scriptures, which
he knew to be useful and necessary to the doctrine of the church.
And how are we to digest this? Could Eusebius, at Cæsarea,
in the fourth century, give out and obtain circulation for copies
of the Scriptures which he had modelled according to his own
will, and from which he had expunged whatever passages did
not happen to please him? Had he previously obtained posses-
sion of all existent copies of the New Testament, and been suc-
cessful in blotting out of the remembrance of all Christians the
recollection of the passages which he had presumed to cancel?
Were the preceding passages the only ones which a person who
could obliterate *them* from the sacred text, would think of re-
moving? And if Eusebius could perform an office of this kind,
were there not other persons who had quite as good an inclina-
tion to the same work, and by whom other passages which they
might not approve, may have been also expunged? If Eusebius
could *expunge* to the extent of his wishes, he might also have
inserted numerous passages, it being easy to conceive that a
person who could do the former, had no reason to withhold him
from the latter proceeding. Such consequences as these, all ad-
missible on Mr. Nolan’s assumption, should induce a strong he-
sitation in the mind of any writer, before he indulges himself in
the amusing work of framing an hypothesis wholly irrespective of
fact. What might be the ‘ *will*’ of Eusebius, we presume not
to say, but we do think that the ‘ *power*’ of altering the Scrip-
tures was completely out of his reach; and we are quite certain
that so far as the records of Ecclesiastical History are our guide
to the knowledge of past transactions, which involve the wilful
corruption of the Scriptures, there is not the shadow of authority
to attach such culpability to the person whom Mr. Nolan has
exhibited as a man guilty of this crime. The only fact, the fair
and simple account of the matter which relates to Eusebius, in
regard of the question brought forward by Mr. Nolan, is, that he
was directed by the Emperor Constantine, to provide fifty copies
of the Scriptures, of elegant execution, for the churches which he
had erected in his new metropolis. This is the nature of the en-
tire transaction. What possible ground could a writer of sobriety
and caution find in the affair, on which to rest such positions as
the following? ‘ At the beginning of this century (the fourth)
‘ an edition of the original Greek was published by Eusebius, of
‘ Cæsarea, under the sanction of Constantine the great.’ ‘ The

‘ edition of the Scriptures dispersed and thus altered by him, was
 ‘ peculiarly accommodated to the opinions of the Arians.’ ‘ The
 ‘ first edition of the Scriptures published with the royal authority.’
 ‘ The peculiar alterations which the text has undergone from
 ‘ the hand of Eusebius.’ ‘ Eusebius expunged these verses
 ‘ (i. e.) Acts xx. 28. 1 Tim. iii. 16, 1 John v. 7.) from his text,
 ‘ and every manuscript from which they have disappeared is li-
 ‘ nearly descended from his edition.’ This is hypothesis with a
 witness!

‘ 10. But “now the charge is to be brought home to Eusebius,” p. 35. The latter part of St. Mark’s Gospel “was wanting in *most* copies of “the Evangelists extant, in the time of St. Jerome, the beginning of “the fifth century.” Eusebius composed a work called the Canons, a kind of harmonical tables, in which this part of St. Mark’s Gospel, is omitted. Mr. Nolan’s conclusion is, that “it must have been ex-
 “punged from the original text,” and that “there seems to be con-
 “sequently *no other reasonable inference*,” but that “*his edition* agreed
 “with them, and with the copies extant in the times of St. Jerome,
 “in omitting this passage,” p. 36. What Eusebius omitted in his canons is evident; what he erased in the fifty copies sent to Constanti-
 nople, and whether he erased any thing, is far from evident. The for-
 mer was an innocent act, the latter would have been a gross fraud. But if these passages were erased from the fifty copies, it is clear by the hypothesis that the MSS. at Cæsarea contained them, and subse-
 quent copies would have defeated the intentions of the episcopal in-
 postor. It is the argument of Mr. Nolan, that what Eusebius omitted in his canons, he expunged in the fifty copies of the Scriptures destined for the Constantinopolitan new churches. Will it exculpate the Bi-
 shop to call these fifty copies “*his edition*” of the New Testament? We must remember that the original MSS. at Cæsarea were untouched, according to the hypothesis of Mr. N. and not afterwards removed from the library, by the Emperor or the Bishop.” p. 10.

Eusebius’s canons do not include the latter part of Mark’s Gospel:—and what does that prove? Nothing less, accord-
 ing to Mr. Nolan, than that Eusebius ‘*expunged*’ the pas-
 sage, in his ‘edition’ of the New Testament! A most unwar-
 rantable inference, truly. Does this omission admit of no other
 explanation than one which impeaches the honesty of the man?
 Would it not be sufficiently accounted for by the hesitation of
 Eusebius respecting the passage, which might be wanting in the
 MSS. that he used?

We thank Mr. Falconer for this interesting tract, which is
 written in a sober and scholar-like manner. Of its efficiency on
 the subject to which it relates, there can be but one opinion among
 those who, in such questions, form their judgement on the appropri-
 ate evidence by which alone they can be determined. We are glad
 to perceive in this tract, a particular examination of a subject to

which, in our review of Dr. Laurence's pamphlet, we adverted,* and a confirmation of the sentiments which on that occasion we felt it to be our duty to express. Mr. Falconer is perfectly correct in the conclusion with which he terminates his criticisms.

* It must not be concealed, that I have condemned a part of a work which that able reasoner and theologian, Dr. Magee, the Dean of Cork, has commended. What is commended or censured has not always been examined. But I venture to affirm, "that the broad and "deep foundation" of Mr. N.'s work, consists of materials which no architect, who was building for the honour of true religion, would have employed.' p. 15.

Art. VI. *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of London, at the Visitation in July and August, 1818: By William, Lord Bishop of London.* 8vo. pp. 32. 1818.

THREE years have elapsed since we had occasion to notice his Lordship's Primary Charge, a charge distinguished, as we regretted to remark, by its purely secular character, and its tone of feeble-minded jealousy and alarm with respect to the Sectaries. The present production is but a reiteration of the same sentiments.

The Primary Charge opened with a panegyric somewhat fulsome upon Bishop Randolph; the present, in place of that, commences with a panegyric upon his Lordship's clergy.

'It is a pleasing reflection, that in reviewing the various transactions of so many years, I discover no personal ground of complaint against any of my clergy: it is a subject of higher congratulation, that I am enabled to regard with so much satisfaction the general complexion of their professional conduct and attention to their sacred duties.'— 'I may assert, with a justifiable confidence, that a body more truly respectable, for learning or piety than the clergy of this diocese, and less in need of allowance for human infirmity and error, will not easily be found.'

We can well imagine the secret amusement which this good-humoured compliment afforded to some *blushing* subjects of his Lordship's commendation; but the Bishop must be better acquainted with the individual characters of his clergy than we are, who know them only by common report.

No wonder that feeling this perfect satisfaction with the ministers of the diocese over which he has the singular felicity to preside, his Lordship should, in the succeeding paragraph, proceed to declare his conviction 'that every measure which tends 'to improve the condition, or *increase the influence* of the clergy,

* Eclectic Review, N. S. Vol. IV. July 1815. p. 9.

'is of material benefit to the community, by promoting the attainment of those ends which were contemplated by the wisdom of our ancestors, when they confided the interests of religion to the care of a National Church.'

But alas! these are evil times. 'During the greater part of the last century, there had been little perceptible change in the aspect of public affairs, as connected with the interests of the Church.' Till those arch-schismatics, Wesley and Whitfield, arose to disturb the ease of the Episcopal Zion, and to unsettle the minds of the good people of England, 'the Church' in question, enjoyed a very remarkable quiescence, which extended even to the Sectaries without the pale of her communion. No irregularities of zeal, no Quixotic plans for evangelizing the world, no Bible-society spirit, broke upon the dead calm of that happy period, calling for the precautions and justifying the alarms of the spiritual rulers to whom were then confided the interests of religion within this realm. 'The current,' says his Lordship, 'with slight fluctuations, had continued to flow in the same channel and on a level nearly the same. The controversies which occasionally arose, were settled by the learned in their closets.' 'The growth of new opinions, the progress of rising sects, were regarded with jealousy, as pregnant with future mischiefs, yet without exciting apprehension for the stability of our ecclesiastical establishments.'

'But now all is changed: it is our lot to have fallen on days of innovation and trouble: the political character of the age has produced an alteration in the circumstances of the country, and an agitation in the public mind, affecting the Church as well as the State, which, under the guidance of wisdom and probity, may tend to the increase of true religion and virtue, but, if left to the direction of chance or folly, will terminate in ruin and confusion.'

The 'agents of evil,' the 'dark and turbulent spirits,' who, in league with the Prince of Darkness, overthrew 'the ancient establishments of Europe, religious, civil, and political,'—that is to say, Popery and Legitimacy,—and whose further projects were defeated by the Duke of Wellington at the battle of Waterloo, could not be expected tamely to acquiesce in arrangements which consigned them to inaction, or 'to cease to desire new scenes of confusion for the promotion of their selfish ends.' Accordingly, the legion crossed the channel, and entered into one William Hone, the organ of those to whom his Lordship, we suppose, alludes, as having 'presumed to address the abominations of blasphemy in audible accents to the multitude.'

'Dismayed by the indignation of the public, the serpent has shrunk into his den, where in darkness he ruminates his plans, and improves his capacities of mischief.'

This, however, cannot be fairly or appropriately said of Mr. Hone, who has opened a handsome shop on Ludgate Hill, where we understand he ruminates no other plans than those which may repair his fortunes and improve his business, for the maintenance of his numerous family. And to these he will do well in future to confine himself. He has learned that political pasquinades of an irreligious and profane description, will not now be tolerated, as they were when Canning wrote in the *Anti-jacobin*, and Gilray designed for the Ministerial print-shops. The sentiment of the public, though it partook of disgust at the hypocrisy of the attempt to give a religious character to a political prosecution, was unequivocally that of deprecation in reference to all productions of the kind : whether it be treason and blasphemy, or anti-jacobinism and blasphemy, the thing will not now be endured ; and with all due deference to his Lordship, we think the improved moral tone of the public feeling in this respect, rather goes against his argument as to the peculiar dangers of the times, of the existence of which he persuades himself that the most incredulous must, in spite of every prejudice, be convinced. Dangers, however, and formidable dangers, we are assured, do exist, and, of course, the Church is in danger. ' Publications of the most pernicious tendency are still in circulation, adapted to the taste and capacities of all descriptions of men,' the obvious purpose of which is ' the extinction of morality and the extirpation of religion in the country.'

' But since it has always been found that plans of enormous iniquity, when distinctly avowed, are regarded with horror, and defeated by the zeal of their advocates, the agents of evil, while they carry on the main work of corruption in secret, direct their efforts with somewhat less reserve to another point, through which they must necessarily pass to their ulterior object—the demolition of the National Church. In this enterprize, they are actively aided or feebly resisted by men with whom they have little in common, in principles, temper, or design ; by some among the Dissenters, whom the prejudices of education, or their own speculations have taught that Establishments are subversive of Christian liberty, and hostile to the advancement of truth ; and by a few perhaps even among the members of our own Church, dissatisfied with our ecclesiastical system, because in its present administration it is unfavourable to their particular notions and favourite views. If these observations are just, our dangers will appear to originate in impiety, rancorous and inveterate, in hostility to the religion of the State, and in a morbid irregularity of pious affection, which is distinguished from genuine piety, by tendency to faction, contempt of authority, or deviation from sobriety and reason.'

' If these observations are just,' the plain state of the case must be this, that Mr. Hone and others, the authors and abet-

tors of the recent parodies upon the Liturgy, have embarked (as my Lord Castlereagh would say) in an 'enterprize,' the *specific* object of which is the overthrow of the Established Church, in which highly feasible undertaking they are actively aided by a party among the Dissenters,—a party pretty large, indeed, if it comprises all those who have been taught that 'establishments are subversive of Christian liberty, and hostile to the 'advancement of truth.' This class of persons, although it is said they have little in common with the men they are 'actively 'aiding,' in respect of their design, are yet clearly to be viewed as conspirators; their 'hostility to the religion of the State' is in direct alliance with the 'impiety, rancorous and inveterate,' of the other supposed party, who are for extirpating religion and morality altogether, and to whose efforts the '*few*' who make up the third company of the enemy's forces, oppose a 'feeble resistance.'

Our readers will perceive with what strict propriety this production of his Lordship's is styled *a charge*! It consists, in fact, of little more than charge upon charge against different descriptions of the community. Were it not for these wicked sectaries, we really fear that his Lordship would have been at a loss for a topic on which to discourse to his clergy. As to the facts on which the charges are founded, we have not access to the *green-bag* evidence by which alone they could be substantiated. His Lordship, as a privy-counsellor, has, it should seem, secret information as to the projected achievement, which has not yet transpired. We have indeed seen Jeremy Bentham's book; and if the Bishop was just warm from the perusal of some of his 'under-graduate's maxims,' when he sat down to pen his Charge, that might of itself account for the temper in which it is written; but still, that formidable, and we frankly add, highly exceptionable volume, can scarcely be admitted as proof sufficient of an extensive conspiracy; nor would it be fair, on the ground of the eccentric production of a recluse, to indict the whole body of Dissenters as *demolitionists*.

But we must take the liberty of commenting upon his Lordship's phraseology, as in itself somewhat injurious. Hostility to the religion of the State, is not chargeable upon those who are hostile (if so warlike a term must be employed) only to a State-establishment of religion. 'An establishment,' as Dr. Paley remarks, 'is no part of Christianity,' no part, therefore, of religion; 'it is only the means of inculcating it.' To the religion of the State, as embodied in the Articles and Homilies of the Church, the greater part of those who disapprove of this means of inculcating it, are decidedly attached; and their hostility to the means, as both illegitimate and injurious, proceeds from their attachment to the end. But till this hostility mani-

fest itself in some other way than a peaceable assertion of the rights so fully conceded to them by the constitutional government under which they live, the Bishop of London, in accusing them of compassing, in alliance with men of rancorous and inveterate impiety, the demolition of the Church, has to answer for that species of detraction which worst of all things accords with the Episcopal character.

Did it not for a single moment occur to his Lordship, while he was thus ranking Dissenters at large with men whose object is the extinction of morality and the extirpation of religion in the country, that the strongest counteraction to any such dark purposes, is supplied by the exertions of the Dissenters themselves? Yes, it is the activity of these Dissenters, in educating the children of the poor, in disseminating the Scriptures, and in preaching the Gospel, which furnishes the Bishop with his most cogent arguments for the exertions of the clergy. But unless he will dare say that these efforts have a tendency to demoralize the people, he must own that the agents of evil are the most powerfully and diligently opposed by those whom he represents as their auxiliaries; and unless he will also affirm that it was by efforts such as these that the French Revolution was brought about, and that *these* are the works of 'the demon of misrule,' he must own that his reference to that event is wholly unmeaning, and that in the imbecility of fear, he has confounded together things as opposite as evil and good.

But if the Church is in danger, what matters it whether 'religious enthusiasm,' or 'the more terrible form of impiety,' be the primary mover and instrument of the convulsion? The possibility of such danger, as the result of either cause, imparts to them a character of evil in common, which obliterates in his Lordship's mind all idea of their moral distinction. After alluding in terms of congratulation to the recent parliamentary grant for the erection of new churches, the Bishop proceeds:

'We must not, however, indulge the sanguine persuasion that the most ample provision of church room, would entirely extirpate irreligion, or conciliate dissent. The root of *these evils* lies deep in the *corruption or infirmity of our nature*. In the present instance, they have grown up at leisure, and in some places may almost be said to have obtained possession of the soil. In the field of morals, no less than of nature, both labour and time are required to clear away the *briars and thorns* produced by disuse of cultivation.'

In this passage, his Lordship distinctly speaks of irreligion and dissent as kindred evils, springing from one common origin—'the corruption or infirmity of our nature;' and we are sure that a man of his Lordship's character, would not have so spoken of them, had they not by some means or other, become linked together in his ideas. Associations of this description, when they

have once taken place, it is impossible to dissolve. The combinations of ideas which are formed by the reasoning faculty, obey the laws of reason, and admit with ease of perpetual interchanges; but those which the imagination puts together from some chance impression of their likeness, disdain all logical control. A solitary error may be reasoned down, but hopeless is the task of removing mistakes which involve erroneous habits of thinking.

Still, making every allowance for those differences of opinion which are the almost inevitable result of 'the prejudices of education,' or the teaching of mere speculation, we regret that we must still speak of the Bishop's Charge in the language of complaint. Had his Lordship been addressing an indiscriminate multitude, he might have felt himself conscientiously impelled, with his present views, to warn them against the evil of dissent;—although even then we might question the wisdom and the scriptural of representing it as an evil of the same kind as irreligion propriety and immorality. But this Charge was delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of London, a body so truly respectable for learning and piety, that it were the grossest reflection upon them to imagine that they stood in need of being cautioned against favouring Sectarianism. We think it was really unnecessary for *them* to be taught to shun more carefully, or to regard with increasing antipathy, the persons of the Dissenters. We think, therefore, with all due deference, that his Lordship might better have employed the time of his reverend audience, than by representations adapted to strengthen the most anti-social and unchristian prejudices, and to excite, in reference to their secular interests, those idle alarms, and that baneful *esprit de corps*, which are the very elements of danger and commotion.

His Lordship's tacit condemnation of the British and Foreign Bible Society, is quite in unison with the spirit of his Charge. He expresses his conviction, that had members of the Establishment uniformly confined their support to the Bartlett's Buildings' Societies, 'all legitimate purposes of Christian zeal would in the result have been promoted with equal effect, without bitterness, wrath, or contention, without disturbance of brotherly concord, or danger to the unity of the Church;' all which are of course to be considered as chargeable upon those who have adopted a different line of conduct. *They* are the men who, instigated by the 'morbid irregularity of pious affection,' are adding to the dangers of the Church. 'By religion,' says his Lordship, 'we mean Christianity pure and undefiled, as it is taught in the primitive creeds, and in the catechism of our Established Church.' Is then what his Lordship means by religion, something different from Christianity as it is taught in the sacred Scriptures? or are not the Scriptures sufficient to make

us wise unto salvation? or, the same religion being taught in both, does the Bishop upon the whole prefer the human standard?

Bishop Howley, we are given to understand, is a prelate of amiable manners and of active philanthropy, honourably conscientious in all the duties of his station. His private exhortations are, we are well informed, of a very different character from his published Charges: they partake of a semi-evangelical spirit, and are given in the tone of kindness. How can we account for such a production proceeding from so estimable a man? Very different anticipations were entertained on his succeeding to the mitre which had been so recently worn by the lamented Porteus.

The Lord Treasurer Burleigh, in writing to Archbishop Whitgift, relative to the translation of the Bishop of Rochester to Chichester, and to other ecclesiastical matters, expresses his wish, 'that the Church may take that good thereby, that it hath need of, for surely (he adds) your Grace must pardon me, I rather wish it, than look or must hope for it. I see such worldliness in many that were otherwise affected before they came to cathedral churches, that I fear the places alter the men; but herein I condemn not all: but few there be that do better, being bishops, than being preachers, they did. I am bold thus to utter my mind of Bishops to an Archbishop, but I clear myself. I mean nothing in any conceit to your Grace, for though of late I have varied in my poor opinion, in that by your order, poor simple men have rather been sought for by inquisition, to be found offenders, than upon their facts condemned, yet surely I do not for all this differ from your Grace in amity and love, but I do reverence your learning and integrity, and wish that the spirit of gentleness may win, rather than severity.'

From the Court at Oatlands, Sept. 17, 1584.

Art. VII. *Narrative of the Expedition which sailed from England in 1817, to join the South American Patriots; comprising every Particular connected with its Formation, History, and Fate; with Observations and authentic Information elucidating the Real Character of the Contest, Mode of Warfare, State of the Armies, &c.* By James Hackett, First Lieutenant of the late Venezuela Artillery Brigade. 8vo. pp. 144. Price 5s. 6d. 1818.

THE mind can form to itself the idea of no spectacle more sublime, no attitude of human society more captivating and heroical, than that which Milton, in a burst of eloquence, calls up to the imagination of his readers, in his speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing: 'A noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; as an eagle muing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam; purging and unsealing her long abused sight at the fountain itself of

‘ heavenly radiance, while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means.’

The hope, however, of realizing, on the grand scale of a national revolution, achievements answering, in an adequate degree, to the poetic conception, can hardly have survived, in any sober mind, the fatal result of the recent experiments upon human nature. History, indeed, does tell us of some glorious revolutions; but too often the character of the contest has been that of evil conflicting with evil; and the struggle has been blindly persisted in, till the very elements of the commotion have exhausted themselves, and sunk into a ghastly calm. The immediate issue of the French Revolution was a dreadful disappointment of those romantic hopes which every man of generous feelings could not but indulge; although eventually, perhaps, it will prove to have been worth twenty years of crime and blood, in order to form a soil in which freedom and religion may germinate. The result of the late burst of patriotism in Spain, is still more disheartening, as it seems to exhibit a fatal moral incapacity in that enslaved and suffering nation, for any better fate. In South America, we have been led to flatter ourselves, that events of a happier character were being achieved by the transatlantic subjects of the imbecile Ferdinand. In their cause, every one deserving of the name of Briton must feel the liveliest interest; no one can dispute ‘ its abstract justice,’ nor is there much more room to doubt its eventual success. But when we come to inspect more narrowly the features of the contest, the imagination finds little indeed of a nature adapted to sustain the feeling of exultation, or even of complacency. Without laying too much stress on the information or opinions of the unfortunate hero of this disastrous narrative, we believe that there is no room to doubt that it is one in which it would be next to impossible for the subjects of a civilized country to take part. population formerly distributed into tyrants and slaves, now amalgamated into one moving horde of undisciplined warriors, the hitherto indelible distinctions of white and black complexion being almost superseded, together with the customs and moral restraints of civilized life,—such a population, especially when we consider that the basis of its character is, at best, nothing better than the Indian or the South American Spaniard, may well be conceived to present no great attractions to an European, how fond soever he might be of armies and campaigns. But when to complete the picture it is added, that the principle on which the warfare is carried on, is that of the most unsparing and ferocious extermination, ‘ each side being so infuriated against the other by a long train of barbarities and cold-blooded slaughter as to render it almost necessary for those who ac-

‘ tually engage in the struggle to divest their minds of every
‘ feeling of humanity, and prepare themselves to be not only
‘ witnesses of, but participators in, acts of the most revolting and
‘ indiscriminate brutality,’ the mind sickens with dismay at the
hopeless prospect for the interests of humanity, which seems to
await alike the success or the failure of the enterprise. A dreadful
retributive dispensation seems to be now carrying on by the
mutual agency of the hostile parties; and our Author throws
out the idea of a catastrophe still more fatal to the usurpers of
the new world, as the possible result of the termination of the
present contest. A common feeling of hostility against the
common enemy, has suspended the sentiments of jealous en-
mity with which hitherto the Indian and the Spanish natives
have regarded each other; but should their combined strength
prove victorious, the contest, it is feared, might immediately
assume another character; the freed slaves will have acquired
the strength and the confidence of Independence, and with
the example of St. Domingo before them, may aspire to the re-
assertion of their ancient rights as the original lords of the soil.
‘ South America may thus become the seat of hostility between
‘ its white and black population.’

The following is the picture which Mr. Hackett draws, of the
state of the Independent armies, on the authority of several
officers who had just *escaped* from the Patriot service, and who
arrived at St. Bartholomew's, while he was still on board the
Britannia.

‘ The Independent armies march in hordes, without order or dis-
cipline; their baggage consisting of little more than the scanty
covering on their backs. They are totally destitute of tents, and in
their encampments observe neither regularity nor system. The com-
manding officers are generally mounted, and likewise such of the
others as are able to provide themselves with horses or mules, the
latter of which are in great plenty. The exterminating principle
upon which the war is carried on between the contending parties,
render their campaigns bloody and destructive; desolation marks the
progress of those hostile bands, to whose inveterate enmities the in-
nocent and unoffending inhabitants are equally the victims, with those
actually opposed to them in military strife. In action the Indepen-
dents display much bravery and determination, and frequently prove
successful, notwithstanding their want of discipline, deficiency of
arms, and disorderly manner of attack and defence. Unhappily the
work of death terminates not with the battle, for on whatsoever side
victory rests, the events which immediately succeed those sanguinary
struggles are such as must cast an indelible stain upon the Spanish
American Revolution.

‘ The engagement is scarcely ended, when an indiscriminate
massacre of the prisoners takes place; nor is the slaughter only con-

fined to the captives, the field also undergoes an inspection, when the helpless wounded are in like manner put to the sword.

'The following instance of vindictive cruelty on the royalist side, was related to me by an officer who was present in the engagement in which the transaction originated. In this action, a young French officer, in the service of the Independents, had his arm severed from his shoulder by a sabre cut, and being unable to sustain himself from loss of blood, he sunk to the ground. His distinguished bravery had however previously been observed by his companions, who succeeded in bearing him off the field, from whence they conveyed him into the woods, and sheltered him in a negro hut; where having applied such balsams as could be procured they departed. The armies retired to other parts of the country, and the officer was fast recovering from the effects of his wound, when General Morillo, advancing upon the same route, discovered his retreat, and had him instantly put to death.

'Such was the barbarous system pursued by the belligerent parties; although I must in justice observe, that I have always understood the exercise of these cruelties originated with the Royalists, and were subsequently resorted to by the Independents on principles of retaliation. Hence the system became reciprocal, passed into a general law, and has now, it is to be feared, become unalterable.

'The sufferings which the Independents undergo during their campaigns, from the difficulty of procuring food, are most severe; mule's flesh, wild fruits, and some dried corn, which they carry loose in their pockets, frequently constituting the whole of their subsistence: and we were confidently assured, that the army under General Bolivar has even often been for days together dependent for support, solely upon the latter description of provisions and water. Pay was now totally unknown to them, in consequence of the utter exhaustion of their resources; and, however successful they might eventually be, there existed no probability whatever, that they would even then possess the means of affording pecuniary compensation to those who may have participated in the struggle*.' pp. 54—58.

* 'The sanguinary and ferocious character of the warfare,' says our Author, in a subsequent paragraph, 'which has reflected lasting disgrace on the contending parties on the Continent of South America, also governs the proceedings of the hostile navies; the indiscriminate destruction of prisoners, is most generally accomplished by compelling the ill-fated captives, to pass through the ceremony which is technically called *Walking the Plank*. For this purpose, a plank is made fast on the gang-way of the ship, with one end projecting some feet beyond the side; the wretched victims are then forced, in succession, to proceed along the fatal board, and precipitate themselves from its extremity into the ocean; whilst those who instinctively clinging to life hesitate prompt obedience to the brutal mandate, are soon compelled at the point of a spear to resign themselves to a watery grave, to avoid the aggravated cruelties of their inhuman conquerors.

'The Independents, who (as has been before observed) impute

'Their clothing of course corresponds to their fare, consisting, we are told, in most instances, of 'fragments of coarse cloth, 'wrapped round their bodies,' while pieces of the raw buffalo hide laced over their feet, form a substitute for shoes: these, 'when hardened by the sun's heat, they again render pliant by 'immersion in the first stream at which they chance to arrive.'

'A blanket, with a hole cut in the middle, let over the head, and tightened round the body by a buffalo thong, has been frequently the dress of the officers; and one of them who witnessed the fact, assured me, that such was actually the *uniform* of a British colonel (R——) who was at that time in the Independent service. Whilst these gentlemen thus described the patriot habiliments, they commented in the strongest language on the impolicy and imprudence of proceeding to serve in conjunction with an army barefooted and in rags, provided with such splendid uniforms as we had been obliged to procure; and ridiculed the strange contrast which our dresses and those of the Patriots would exhibit in the field; observing, that such clothes would be alone sufficient to excite the jealousy of the natives, to whose eagerness for their possession, we should almost inevitably become a sacrifice.' pp. 53—54.

The Patriots, it is stated on apparently good authority, are decidedly averse to foreign assistance. Arms and ammunition are all that they are desirous of obtaining from us. The introduction of British officers, particularly, it is added, 'had already 'excited greater jealousy and dissension among the native 'troops, than their most zealous exertions could possibly make 'amends for, and to so violent a pitch had their jealous feelings 'carried them, as to subject foreigners, attached to the patriot 'service, to perpetual hazard of assassination.'

'Their obstinate hostility to the admission of foreign aid, can in a great measure be accounted for, from a confidence in their own numerical strength, and the obvious weakness of the mother country. They encourage a probably well-grounded conviction, that, however the contest may be protracted, success must ultimately attach itself to their party; and an anxiety to enjoy the entire fruits of their triumph, has created this aversion to the admission of foreigners, whose services, they cannot but know, are proffered rather from motives of personal aggrandizement, than any particular solicitude for the emancipation of South America.' pp. 64—65.

Such were the views which determined our Author to relinquish the project in which he had been, by the most infamous deception, seduced to engage, as 'First Lieutenant of the *late* 'Venezuela Artillery Brigade,' which brigade was disbanded by the Colonel, off Grenada, before it had reached the Spanish

the origin of this barbarous mode of warfare to the Royalists, resort for their justification in adopting a similar course of proceeding, to the necessity of retaliation.' pp. 120—121.

Main. The conditions upon which he entered, and which were duly sanctioned and guaranteed by Don Mendez, the *accredited agent* of the Independents in London, were the following.

' 1st. That on arriving in South America I should retain the rank to which he Colonel Gilmore had appointed me. 2dly. That I should from thence receive the full pay and allowances enjoyed by officers of similar rank in the British service. 3dly. That the expences of outfit (with the exception of the passage to the Spanish Main) should be, in the first instance borne by myself; but, 4thly: That I should, immediately on my arriving in South America, receive the sum of two hundred dollars, towards defraying these expences.'

One is at a loss to conceive what possible inducement this *mendacious* Don could have, for the conduct attributed to him; unless, (which is not stated,) he has been carrying on a trade in Patriotic Commissions, and charges high for the appointments he sells. In that case, lenient as our laws are to gentlemen of the profession of swindlers, we should yet imagine that a check might long ago have been given to his '*levees*.' It is upon this '*gentleman*' exclusively, according to *Lieutenant Hackett*, that the

' responsibility must rest, of having excited hopes which he must have known would never be realized; of having guaranteed the performance of conditions, the fulfilment whereof he must have been aware was impracticable; and of having induced those desirous of embarking in this destructive enterprise, to believe that their services would be joyfully and gratefully accepted by the Independent Generals and their Armies; whilst he, at the same time, could scarcely have been ignorant, that the strongest hostility was manifested by the Patriots to the admission of foreign assistance; and that the jealousy of the native troops of those few British officers who had been tempted actually to join their armies was so rancorous, as to subject them to the perpetual hazard of assassination.' pp. vii, viii,

Not fewer than five distinct corps embarked at nearly the same period, on the same delusive enterprise.

' 1st. A Brigade of Artillery under the command of Colonel J. A. Gilmore, consisting of five light six-pounders, and one five-and-half-inch-howitzer, ten officers and about eighty non-commissioned officers and men. This corps embarked on board the *Britannia*, a fine ship of about four hundred tons burden, commanded by Captain Sharpe, with a crew of twenty-one able and well-conducted seamen. An immense quantity of every description of military stores had been stowed on board this vessel, comprising arms, ammunition, clothing, waggons, and, in fact, every requisite for enabling the brigade to enter upon active service immediately on arriving at its place of destination.

' The uniforms and equipments of the officers were extremely rich,

very similar to those of the British Artillery, and provided altogether at the expense of the individuals who had accepted commissions in this ill-fated expedition. The equipments of the other corps were likewise in every respect extensive and complete, and the uniforms remarkably rich and costly, more especially in the regiment commanded by Colonel Wilson, one of whose officers informed me that his outfit amounted to upwards of two hundred guineas.

‘ 2d. A corps of hussars (called the First Venezuelan Hussars) under the command of Colonel Hippley, consisting of about thirty officers, and one hundred and sixty non-commissioned officers and men; uniform dark-green faced with red. This corps embarked on board the *Emerald*, a beautiful ship of about five hundred tons, commanded by Captain Weatherly, with a crew of upwards of thirty men and boys.

‘ 3d. A regiment of cavalry (called the Red Hussars) under the command of Colonel Wilson, consisting of about twenty officers, and one hundred non-commissioned officers and men. Uniform—full-dress, red and gold; undress, blue and gold. This corps proceeded in the *Prince*, a vessel of about four hundred tons burden, commanded by Captain Nightingale.

‘ 4th. A rifle corps (named the First Venezuelan Rifle Regiment) commanded by Colonel Campbell, consisting of about thirty-seven officers and nearly two hundred non-commissioned officers and men. Uniform similar to that of the Rifle Brigade in the British service. This corps embarked on board the *Dowson*, Captain Dormor, a fine ship about the size of the *Britannia*.

‘ 5th. A corps of Lancers, under the command of Colonel Skeene, comprising, in officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, about two hundred and twenty men; who embarked on board the unfortunate ship *Indian*, and the whole of whom, together with the crew, perished miserably at sea, being wrecked on the island of Ushant shortly after their departure from England.

‘ These several corps sailed from England at nearly the same time, with the intention of acting conjointly on arriving in South America, and having previous to their departure appointed the islands of Saint Bartholomew and Saint Thomas, as places of general rendezvous, for the purpose of ascertaining the state of affairs on the Spanish Main, and determining the point at which it would be most judicious the disembarkation should take place.’ pp. xii—xv.

We must now give a hasty outline of Mr. Hackett's narrative. The *Britannia* sailed on the 3d of Dec. 1817. On the 24th of Jan. she sailed into the harbour of Gustavia, in St. Bartholomew's, where the *Prince* and the *Emerald* had already arrived. Here they remained upwards of three weeks, without receiving any intelligence from the Spanish Main, on the veracity of which they could place the slightest reliance. A general feeling of dissatisfaction and uneasiness soon manifested itself, as the consequence of this painful state of suspense, and their situation was rendered still more critical by the spirit of dissension and jealousy which first began to actuate the of-

ficers commanding the respective corps, and at length extended among the subordinate officers, destroying all exertions for the common cause. On the 21st of February, after many ineffectual efforts to obtain direct intelligence from the Continent, the three ships (the *Britannia*, the *Prince*, and the *Dowson*.) sailed from St. Bartholomew's, and arrived at Grenada on the Friday following. The account of the state of the Patriot armies given by Mr. Guthrie, the Independent agent resident at this island, coincided so minutely with that furnished by Mr. Molony, the agent at St. Thomas's, that the supercargo at once determined against proceeding with the stores to the Main. The situation in which Colonel Gilmore was by this means placed, was, in his view, so irrecoverably desperate, as to leave him no alternative but disbanding the brigade.

' Our condition now may be readily conceived: deprived of the support of our Colonel, destitute of resources or friends, and unable to devise any means of extrication from our difficulties, we saw ourselves threatened with all the horrors of privation and want. Of the men comprising our late brigade, some joined the other ships, others enlisted in the Queen's Regiment, at this time garrisoned in Grenada, whilst a few determined on endeavouring to work their passage to the United States; the various artificers were put ashore at the same period. The printer, having been permitted to carry with him a portion of the types and printing apparatus, fortunately procured a situation in the newspaper office. The armourer afterwards returned to Saint Bartholomew's, with the intention of proceeding to New Orleans. The fate of the remainder I never learned, but fear their distresses must have been great, as they appeared totally destitute of money, and were consequently dependent for their subsistence on the manual exercise of their respective arts.

' Some of the officers succeeded in providing for themselves, either through their own resources, or pecuniary aid from friends; the remainder, including Captain ——— and myself, were still permitted to continue on board the *Britannia*.'

On the supercargo's resolving at length to proceed to Port au Prince, in the hope of being enabled there to dispose of the artillery and military stores, the remaining officers and men were put on shore, friendless, and destitute. Poor Lieutenant Hackett, however, obtained from the merchant to whom the *Britannia* had been consigned, the use of a ruinous waste room in one of his outhouses, of which he 'gladly accepted.' Having converted into cash every article of property he could possibly dispose of, his thoughts were now wholly occupied with forming plans for returning to Europe. At length he was informed, that an English merchant vessel, (the *Hornby*) which had been taken possession of by the Admiral stationed off St. Kitt's, (in consequence of having, together with several others, become subject to seizure,) was destined to return to Europe 'in ballast.' He

accordingly took a final leave of St. Bartholomew's, on the 3d of April, resolving, with some others of the unfortunate adventurers, to offer his services to the Captain, working his passage home on board his ship, as a common seaman. This proposal was, after some deliberation, acceded to, and 'those only,' he says, 'who have been similarly situated, can conceive of the happiness we now experienced, and the delight with which we on the following day availed ourselves of Captain W.'s permission to repair on board.' The Hornby being almost 'destitute of hands, was detained nearly three weeks at St. Kitt's after this arrangement, which allowed of Mr. Hackett's procuring intelligence of the proceedings of several of the vessels and officers attached to the South American enterprise, subsequently to his leaving the Britannia. The Emerald was purchased by Admiral Brion for the Independent service, and converted, under the name of the Victory, into his flag ship, manned by British seamen, about seventy of whom he succeeded in procuring from the West India Islands. The Britannia and the Dowson, after depositing their stores with merchants in St. Bartholomew's, being unable otherwise to dispose of them, took in sugar freights on their passage home. Of Colonel Gilmore's brigade, none ever actually landed on the Continent, with the exception of two officers, and about fifteen or twenty men, who joined Colonel Wilson's corps. This corps, though much reduced in numbers, finally proceeded for Bolivar's head-quarters at the Oroonoco. The main body of Captain Hippesley's regiment likewise sailed for the same destination. Of their subsequent proceedings or fate, no information reached Mr. H. Colonel Campbell's corps, originally the most effective, became reduced by fever and resignation, to ten officers and a proportionate number of men, which small remnant intended also to proceed to Angustura. As for our poor ex-lieutenant, he soon acquired an intimacy with the haul-yard, and after a favourable passage, arrived on the 16th of June in Portsmouth harbour, when he and his Captain parted, with mutual feelings of friendship and regard. In conclusion, he disclaims any hostile feeling towards the cause of the Independents. 'That cause,' he remarks, 'must stand or fall upon its own insulated merits : confident in its abstract justice, I heartily wish its speedy and perfect success,—but without the sacrifice of British blood, or the compromise of British honour.'

Art. VIII. *Discourses suited to the Dispensation of the Lord's Supper.*
By John Brown, Minister of the Associate Congregation, Biggar.
12mo. Edinburgh, 1816.

CHRISTIANITY is equally distinguished for the plainness, purity, and value of its moral precepts, and for the simplicity, dignity, and excellence of its positive institutes. It is not easy to determine whether the former has been more obscured and distorted by sophistry and self-interest, or the latter degraded and corrupted by ignorance and superstition. We cannot read the New Testament with attention and impartiality, without perceiving how far the great mass of professing Christians, in all countries, and through a long series of ages, have departed from that system of Divine truth, which its sacred pages so luminously display. For proof of this assertion, we need only refer to the records of ecclesiastical history, or glance at the state of the world around us. No religious rite has been more grossly misunderstood and perverted, than that ordinance which was designed to be a solemn and instructive memorial of the Saviour, and of his sufferings; that ordinance 'which clothes spiritual principle with visible form, and repeats to the senses, what the Scriptures had previously addressed to the conscience and to the heart.' The devotees of Rome fancy it to be full of mystery, and their absurd doctrine of transubstantiation, offers an insult to reason and common sense. Even among Protestants, some have made it a political test, a door of admission to civil offices, and others have recourse to it in their dying hour, as an easy expedient to procure pardon and absolution of sin and peace of conscience, and consider it as a sure passport to heaven. Every judicious attempt to rescue so important and solemn an institution from flagrant abuse, and direct it to the valuable purpose for which it was originally appointed, merits commendation.

In the volume before us, Mr. Brown has furnished some discourses and addresses, adapted to excite and promote a spirit of piety among those who feel it a duty and a privilege to hold communion with their fellow Christians at the sacramental supper of the Lord. In the arrangement and composition of the whole work, a regard has been paid to the manner in which this ordinance is dispensed in the Scottish Presbyterian churches; to promote a fervid yet rational devotion in their members, when engaged in this service, is avowedly its primary object. At the same time, as there will be found nothing sectarian either in its sentiments or in its spirit, the Author has reason to hope that it will be of general use and interest, as a view of Christian doctrine and duty in reference to this ordinance. We have seen few works on the subject, in a compressed and cheap

form, which are so replete with evangelical truth, and which contain so many pertinent applications of Scripture, and powerful appeals to the best feelings and affections of the heart. The language exhibits some slight inaccuracies, and a redundancy of epithets, but the style is on the whole easy, flowing, and perspicuous, well adapted to the matter, and to the solemn occasion for which it is designed. We can warmly recommend these Sacramental Discourses to pious Christians of every denomination, and hope that the Author, from the success attending the present volume, will have reason to conclude that he has not lived and laboured in vain. We give one short extract from an exhortation delivered after the sacramental supper, as a fair specimen of the work.

‘ In fine, let Christian joy be the habitual temper of your mind : Rejoice in the Lord ye righteous ; and again I say rejoice. Be joyful in tribulation, and triumph in death. You have abundant ground of rational satisfaction and holy joy. To be habitually gloomy, is ingratitude to your benefactor : it is an implied declaration, that after all he has done for you, he has not done enough to make you happy. The apparent unhappiness of some good men, has done incalculable mischief to the cause of religion ; and on the other hand, nothing tends more directly to recommend Christianity to all, but especially the young, than proving by our conduct, that we feel its yoke to be easy, and its burden to be light : that wisdom’s ways are pleasant ways, and that all her paths are peace. Is it your desire then, Christian brethren, thus habitually to remember Christ in faith, and love, and reverence, and penitence, and joy ? Then in the first place, study deeply the character and history of Jesus as detailed by the evangelical historians ; and in the second place, as these holy tempers are by no means the natural growth of the human heart, be frequent and fervent in your supplications to the throne of grace, for the Holy Spirit whom God has promised to all that ask him, and who is the sole source of all moral good in created natures.’

Art. IX. *An Inquiry into some of the most curious and interesting Subjects of History, Antiquity, and Science* : with an Appendix, containing the earliest Information of the most remarkable Cities of ancient and modern Times. By Thomas Moir, Member of the College of Justice, Edinburgh. 12mo. pp. 274. Price 4s. 1817.

AMONG the curious and interesting subjects embraced in this Inquiry, will be found, a tolerably ample account of the numerous religious houses which existed in this country before the Reformation, including a detailed statement of their rental ; a discussion concerning the Julian year, new style, and the Solar and Lunar Cycles ; an account of the origin of the most renowned military orders, and titles of civil dignity ; together with a fund of miscellaneous information, relating to ecclesiastical antiquities. The work is divided into fifty-seven chapters, each

relating to a separate subject. It is a great defect in the volume, that there is no index to its multifarious contents. We take a specimen almost at random.

‘The Origin of the Title of Sheriff, and Titles of Honour amongst the Saxons in England and other Countries, comprehending all Titles now in use.

The titles of honour amongst our Saxon ancestors were—etheling, prince of the blood; chancellor, assistant to the king in giving judgments; alderman, or ealderman, (not earlderman, as Rapin Thoyras writes this word in his first edition) governor or viceroy. It is derived from the word ald, or old, like senator in Latin. Provinces, cities, and sometimes wapentakes, had their aldermen to govern them, determine law-suits, judge criminals, &c. This office gave place to the title of earl, which was merely Danish, and introduced by Canute. Sheriff, or she-reeve, was the deputy of the alderman, chosen by him, sat judge in some courts, and saw sentence executed; hence he was called vice-comes. Heartoghan signified, among our Saxon ancestors, generals of armies, or dukes. Hengist, in the Saxon Chronicle, is heartogh. Such were the dukes appointed by Constantine the Great, to command the forces in the different provinces of the Roman Empire. These titles began to become hereditary with the office or command annexed, under Pepin and Charlemagne, and grew more frequent, by the successors of these princes granting many hereditary fiefs to noblemen, to which they annexed titular dignities. Fiefs were an establishment of the Lombards, from whom the Emperors of Germany and the Kings of France borrowed this custom, and with it the feudal laws, of which no mention is found in the Roman code. Titles began frequently to become merely honorary about the time of Etho I. in Germany.

‘Reeve, among the English Saxons, was a Steward. The bishop's reeve was the bishop's steward for secular affairs, attending in his court. Thanes, i. e. servants, were officers of the crown whom the king recompensed with land, sometimes to descend to their posterity, but always to be held of him with some obligation of service, homage, or acknowledgment. There were other lords of lands, and vassals, who enjoyed the title of thanes, and were distinguished from the king's thanes. The ealdermen and dukes were all king's thanes, and all others who held lands of the king by knight's service in chief, and were immediate great tenants of the king's estates. These were the greater thanes, and were succeeded by the barons, which title was brought in by the Normans, and is rarely found before the Conquest. Mass Thanes were those who held lands in fee of the church. Middle thanes were such as held very small estates of the king, or parcels of lands of the king's greater thanes. They were called by the Normans vavassors, and their lands vavassories. They who held lands of these were thanes of the lowest class, and did not rank as gentlemen. All thanes disposed of the lands which they held, (and which were called block land, to their heirs,) but with the obligations due to those of whom they were held. Ceorle (whence our word churl) was a countryman or artisan, who was a freeman. These Ceorles, who held lands in leases, were called sockmen, and their lands sock-

land, of which they could not dispose, being barely tenants. Those *Ceorles* who acquired possession of five hides of land, with a large house, court, and bell, to call together their servants, were raised to the rank of *thanes* of the lowest class. An hide of land was as much as one plough could till. The *villians* or slaves, in the country, who were labourers bound to the service of particular persons, were all capable of possessing money in property, consequently were not strictly slaves, in the sense of the Roman law.

'Witan, or wites, (i. e. wisemen,) were the magistrates and lawyers. *Burgh witten* signified the magistrates of cities. Some shires, or counties, are mentioned before King Alfred; and *Asserius* speaks of earls, or counts, of Somerset and Devonshire, in the reign of *Ethelwolph*. But Alfred first divided the whole kingdom into shires, the shires into *tithings*, *lathes*, or *wapentakes*, the *tithings* into hundreds, and the hundreds into tenths. Each division had a court, subordinate to those that were superior, the highest in each shire being the *shire-gemot*, or *folk-mote*, which was held twice a year, and in which the bishop, or his deputy, and the *ealderman*, or his vice-gerent the sheriff, presided. See *Seldon* on the Titles of Honour; *Spelman's Glossary*, ed. noviss.: *Squires* on the Government of the English Saxons; Dr. William Howell, in his learned General History, t. v. p. 273, &c.

Nota. The titles of *earle* and *hersen* were first given by *Ifwar Widfame*, King of Sweden, to two ministers of state, in 824; on which see many Remarks of *Olof Delin*, in his excellent new history of Sweden, c. v. t. i. p. 334.'

Mr. Moir's judgement as an original writer is not equal to his industry as a collector. In chapter xxix, he gravely informs his readers, that 'the celibacy of the Clergy, though merely an ecclesiastical law, is perfectly conformable to the spirit of the gospel, and doubtless derived from the Apostles.' The gentle reader must pardon in so amusing a medley, the occurrence of a few antiquarian absurdities.

Art. X. *Curiosities of Literature*. In Three Volumes. 8vo. Vol. I. pp. 483. London. 1817.

MORE than twenty years have, we believe, elapsed, since the first publication of the former two volumes of this amusing compilation of literary anecdotes, which, on their attaining a sixth edition, have received the addition of a third. The Author, at once an antiquary and a virtuoso, ranks foremost in point of liveliness of style and assiduity of research, among the 'anecdotal' tribe of literati who are benevolent enough to drudge through tomes of ponderous dulness, and to ransack book-stalls and whole libraries, disturbers of the book-worm, in order to furnish the literary lounge with a volume full of entertaining 'curiosities.' The compilation was originally suggested by the works of his friends Seward and Pettit Andrews; but Mr. D'

Israeli was led to direct his explorations principally to literary history, his design being 'to stimulate the literary curiosity of those 'who, with a taste for its tranquil pursuits, are impeded in their acquirements,' and to meet the wants of that numerous class of readers, who, from 'their occupations, or their indolence, require to 'obtain the materials for thinking, by the easiest and readiest 'means.' Such collections are not without classical precedent. 'The Greeks,' we are told, 'were not without them; and the 'Romans loved them under the title of *Varia Eruditio*, and 'the Orientalists more than either, were passionately fond of 'these agreeable collections.' Among our own countrymen, indeed, Lord Bacon himself did not disdain to publish a collection of anecdotes 'new and old,' made for his 'recreation 'amongst more serious studies.' With such authorities, Mr. D'Israeli has little to fear from the learned who might affect to condemn his labours. Besides, the Journalist 'ought not,' as he remarks, 'to throw every thing into the crucible.' We agree with him, and willingly acknowledge, what he modestly proposes as a defence of such works as these, that 'more might be 'alleged in favour of them, than can be urged against them.'

Our present business is only with this third volume, although to many of our readers extracts from the first two, would, it is probable, still possess in an equal degree the charm of novelty. We cannot pretend, however, to institute a minute examination into the miscellaneous contents even of this supplemental volume, but must be allowed to make our selections and our remarks in the same desultory manner as that in which the compilation was framed.

The section on 'Literary Anecdotes' would not unaptly have opened the Volume: it contains some good remarks in vindication of their value, as constituting the very essence of biography, when the writer knows how to discover the particulars which characterize the man. We have some curious specimens of absurd minuteness in the biographers of eminent persons; but 'it is certainly safer,' our Author remarks, 'for some writers to 'give us all they know, than to try at the power of rejection.'

The most interesting portions of the volume consist of illustrations of our domestic history. The repugnance of Queen Elizabeth to enter upon marriage is placed in a light favourable indeed to her strength of character, but utterly irreconcilable with her allowing 'her ministers to pledge her royal word, as 'often as they found necessary, for her resolution to marry,' unless that conduct is to be regarded as a piece of most consummate duplicity. We know not how 'foreign authors' should have got at a secret so successfully concealed at home.

The anecdotes of the unfortunate Chidiock Titchbourne, who was involved in the conspiracy of his friend Anthony Babington

against Elizabeth, are exceedingly interesting. His letter to his wife before he suffered, is given from the Harleian MSS. as well as his address to the populace, which is in a style of touching eloquence characteristic of the times---the Shakspearian era!

‘Countrymen and my dear friends, you expect I should speak something; I am a bad orator, and my text is worse: It were in vain to enter into the discourse of the whole matter for which I am brought hither, for that it hath been revealed heretofore: let me be a warning to all young gentlemen, especially *generosis adolescentulis*. I had a friend, and a dear friend, of whom I made no small account, whose friendship hath brought me to this. He told me the matter, I cannot deny, as they laid it down to be done; but I always thought it impious, and denied to be a dealer in it; but the regard of my friend caused me to be a man in whom the old proverb is verified; I was silent and so consented.’

The following verses are given from the same MS. as the composition of this accomplished youth: they have been printed in one of the old editions of Sir Walter Raleigh’s Poems, but Mr. D’Israeli asserts that they ‘could never have been written by him.’ We cannot resist the pleasure of transcribing them into our pages.

‘Verses made by Chedioc Ticheborne of himselfe in the Tower, the night before he suffered death, who was executed in Lincolns Inn Fields for Treason. 1586.

‘My prime of youth is but a frost of cares,
My feast of joy is but a dish of pain,
My crop of corn is but a field of tares,
And all my goodes is but vain hope of gain.
The day is fled, and yet I saw no sun,
And now I live, and now my life is done!

‘My spring is past, and yet it hath not sprung;
The fruit is dead, and yet the leaves are green,
My youth is past, and yet I am but young,
I saw the world, and yet I was not seen;
My thread is cut, and yet it is not spun,
And now I live, and now my life is done!

‘I sought for death, and found it in the wombe;
I lookt for life, and yet it was a shade,
I trade the ground, and knew it was my tombe,
And now I dye and nowe I am but made.
The glass is full, and yet my glass is run;
And now I live, and now my life is done!’

The Stuarts are all of them great favourites with our Anecdotist. He was at the pains of composing a small 8vo. volume, which was published last year, for the purpose of proving

that the profane, the lascivious, and feeble-minded James, was in reality one of the best of kings, 'Great Britain's Solomon.' 'It is well known,' he says, in narrating an anecdote of Prince Henry, 'that James I. had a habit of swearing,---innocent *expletives* in conversation, which, in truth, only expressed the warmth of his feelings; but in that age, when Puritanism had already possessed half the nation, an oath was considered as nothing short of blasphemy.' Doubtless, this apology for swearing still holds good with those who take special care not to be mistaken for persons so possessed in the present day.

Our Author takes every occasion to vent his anger against those *ultra*-moralists, the Puritans. He devotes twenty pages to 'the history of the Theatre during its suppression' by the fanatics, which was the result, he tells us, 'of an ancient quarrel between the Puritanic party and the whole *corps dramatique*,' in the reign of Elizabeth. These anti-dramatists were indeed, he admits, the instruments of purifying the stage; 'we owe them this good;' but then, they 'wanted,' says this gentleman, 'the taste to feel that it was also a popular school of morality; that the stage is a supplement to the pulpit!' In this school of morality, the use of 'innocent expletives' as expressions of warmth of feeling, is among the many things which the Author, perhaps, thinks are to be learned to advantage. He is far, however, from being singular in his opinion of its moral efficiency, as 'a supplement to the pulpit.' There have been, and still are, clergymen of his way of thinking, who have deemed patronizing the theatre, the best mode of opposition to the meeting-house, the head-quarters of the common enemy. Mr. D'Israeli quotes some lines from Alexander Brome, which illustrate this strange association.

'Tis worth our note,

Bishops and players both suffered in one vote:

And reason good, for they had cause to fear them;

One did suppress their schisms, and t'other jeer them.'

The actors were, of course, as our Author and Mr. Gifford assert, with one 'wretched' exception, 'malignants' (that is to say, royalists) to a man. 'Of these men, who had lived in the sunshine of a court, and amidst taste and criticism, many perished in the field, from their affection to their royal master'!! This touch of sentiment ventures rather too near the ludicrous. However, the actors of those days were doubtless very excellent and elevated characters, and the nation suffered much in its morals, while the stage was silenced; but all was set to rights when that merry fellow Charles II. was brought in.

Charles I., Mr. D'Israeli says, had a mind 'moulded by the

'Graces;' and he dwells with enthusiasm on his character, which, 'grave and king-like' as it was, had its softening feature in his passion for the Arts. He was himself a painter and a poet, as well as a patron of artists, though history has not recorded the circumstance, and, as is well known, a great admirer of Shakspeare. For this he was censured, says our Author, 'even by Milton,' alluding, we presume, to the blundering misconstruction of a passage in Milton's *Iconoclastes*, which has been made, by successive commentators, the ground of so much silly invective against Puritanical bigotry. Charles I. was never censured by Milton for having 'those native poets' as his 'closet companions.'

The secret history of Charles I. and his Queen Henrietta, receives some illustration by the anecdotes adduced for the purpose of shewing that Henrietta had not the share in the transactions of the reign, which Hume and almost every other historian ascribe to her influence over her uxorious husband. The dismissing of her French attendants, which Hume imagines to have originated with Buckingham, appears to have been the determined act of the King himself, in opposition to his favourite, and at the risk of a war with France, his motive being to quell the Catholic faction which was 'ruling the Queen.' In proof of this statement, reference is made to two letters from Charles I. to Buckingham, contained in the Hardwicke State Papers. Henrietta, says our Author,

'after all, was nothing more than a volatile woman; one who had never studied, never reflected, and whom nature had formed to be charming and haughty, but whose vivacity could not retain even a state secret for an hour, and whose talents were quite opposite to those of deep political intrigue. No female was ever more deeply tainted with Catholic bigotry; and haughty as she was, the Princess suffered the most insulting superstitions, inflicted as penances by her priests, for this very marriage with a Protestant prince.'

A remarkable and hitherto unnoticed document is referred to, (contained in the "*Ambassades du Mareschal de Bassompierre*," vol. iii.) as throwing further light upon the secret history of this period.

'It is nothing less than a most solemn obligation contracted with the Pope, and her brother the King of France, to educate her children as Catholics, and only to choose Catholics to attend them. Had this been known either to Charles, or to the English nation, Henrietta could never have been permitted to ascend the English throne. The fate of both her sons shows how faithfully she performed this treasonable contract. This piece of secret history opens the concealed cause of those deep impressions of that faith, which both monarchs sucked in with their milk; that triumph of the cradle over

the grave which most men experience. Charles II. died a Catholic; James II. lived as one.'

The conduct of Charles, when he discovered the intrigues of her French household, certainly displayed a firmness the very reverse of the spirit attributed to him by those who represent him as a slave to his queen. This establishment was daily growing in expense and number.

'A manuscript letter of the times states that it cost the King 240*l.* a day, and had increased from threescore persons to four hundred and forty, besides children.

'It was one evening that the King suddenly appeared, and, summoning the French household, commanded them to take their instant departure—the carriages were prepared for their removal. In doing this, Charles had to resist the warmest intreaties, and even the vehement anger of the Queen, who is said in her rage to have broken several panes of the window of the apartment, to which the King had dragged her, and confined her from them.' 'When the French Marshal Bassompierre was sent over to awe the King, Charles sternly offered the alternative of war, rather than permit a French faction to trouble an English court. The Marshal has also preserved the same distinctive feature of the nation, as well as of the monarch, who, surely to his honour as King of England, felt and acted on this occasion as a true Briton. "I have found," says the Gaul, "humility among Spaniards, civility and courtesy among the Swiss, in the embassies I had the honour to perform for the King; but the English would not in the least abate of their natural pride and arrogance. The King is so resolute not to re-establish any French about the Queen his consort, and was so stern (*rude*) in speaking to me, that it is impossible to have been more so.'"

The character of the Duke of Buckingham, the favourite equally of James I. and of Charles I., furnished our Author with a topic of illustrative anecdote in one of the former volumes, and he there speaks of his audacity and abandoned profligacy, in much the same terms as all honest historians have spoken of them. From some eccentric motive, which we care not to divine, he seems, however, in the present volume, solicitous to efface as much as possible this unfavourable presson. Hume is now accused of throwing into the shade the fascinating qualities of the Duke's better nature. His 'errors and infirmities' were those, it seems, of 'a man of sensation, acting from impulse,' and sprung from a sanguine, but generous spirit. Buckingham was the decided enemy of the Puritan party: this, in our Author's estimation, would be a palliative of the lowest vices; and he tells us a story, from the Lansdowne MSS., which 'was told 'by Thomas Baker to Mr. Wotton as coming from one well 'versed in the secret history of that time,' about a Dr. Preston's being the most servile adulator of the Duke, at the very time that

he was speaking of him to his Puritan correspondents, as 'a vile 'and profligate fellow,' of whom, nevertheless, it was necessary for the glory of God to make use as an instrument. Some officious hand, it is said, conveyed this letter to Buckingham, who, after exposing it to Dr. Preston, on his denying the charge, turned from him, and from that moment *abandoned* the Puritan party!! A very good story, if it did but bear the marks of veracity, but not quite sufficient even then, to prove all that our Author intends it should imply.

Felton the assassin, is the subject of a distinct disquisition, evidently for the purpose of bringing in the Republicans and Puritans as sanctioning the act of the 'conscientious' assassin. Felton's mind had passed, he says, 'through an evangelical 'process: four theological propositions struck the knife into the 'heart of the Minister. Never was a man murdered with more 'Gospel than the Duke.' The 'curious document' which our Author introduces in order to substantiate this malicious misrepresentation, gives at once the lie to his assertion. It is remarkable that it does not contain one proposition strictly theological, and is wholly free from what would in those times have been deemed an evangelical character. It is completely the reasoning of a disordered mind, and corresponds well enough to his ingenuous confession, on his arguments being overturned by the King's attorney, that *he had been in a mistake.*

'Propositions found in Felton's trunk, at the time he slew the Duke.

'1. There is no alliance nearer to any one than his country.

'2. The safety of the people is the chiefest law.

'3. No law is more sacred, than the safety and welfare of the Commonwealth.

'4. God himself hath enacted this law, that all things that are for the good profit and benefit of the Commonwealth, shall be lawful.'

That Felton had imbibed the religious enthusiasm of the times, is an assertion purely gratuitous. He was 'one of those 'thousand officers, who had incurred disappointments, both in 'promotion and in arrears of pay from the careless Duke.' His immediate motive was inconceivable even to his contemporaries, but it is evident that there was more of the Roman than of the Puritan in him. Buckingham, on being advised to wear some secret defensive armour, had slightly replied, "It needs "not, there are no Roman spirits left." He did not calculate upon meeting with a Brutus in a lunatic.

Rushworth's account of Felton's manly behaviour before the council, is corrected in some particulars, on the authority of the Harleian MSS. It was to my Lord Dorset, not to Laud, that, when threatened with the torture if he did not confess his accomplices, he replied with admirable presence of mind:

‘ My Lord, I do not believe that it is the King’s pleasure, for he is a just and gracious Prince, and will not have his subjects tortured against law. I do affirm upon my salvation that my purpose was not known to any man living ; but if it be his Majesty’s pleasure, I am ready to suffer whatever his Majesty will have inflicted upon me. Yet this I must tell you by the way, that if I be put upon the rack, I will accuse you, my Lord of Dorset, and none but yourself.’

‘ This firm and sensible speech silenced them.’ The Judges were consulted, and came to a decision condemnatory of the continual practice of the Government, namely, that ‘ Felton ought not to be tortured by the rack, no such punishment being known or allowed by Law : so much more ‘ exact reasoners with regard to Law,’ had the Judges, says Hume, ‘ become from the jealous scruples of the House of Commons.’ The rack, as our Author shews, on several authorities, had been much ‘ more frequently used as a state engine, than has ‘ reached the knowledge of our Historians.’ Both Elizabeth and her successor had recourse to this terrible instrument of arbitrary cruelty.

The ‘ prognostics’ which preceded the assassination of Buckingham, were enough, one would have imagined, to alarm the most rash and dauntless spirit.

‘ About a month before the Duke was assassinated, occurred the murder by the populace of the man who was called “ The Duke’s Devil.” This was a Dr. Lambe, a man of infamous character ; a dealer in magical arts, who lived by shewing apparitions or selling the favours of the devil, and whose chambers were a convenient rendezvous for the curious of both sexes. This wretched man, who openly exulted in the infamous traffic by which he lived, when he was sober, prophesied that he should fall one day by the hands from which he received his death ; and it was said he was as positive about his patron’s. At the age of eighty, he was torn to pieces in the City, and the City was imprudently fined £6000, for not delivering up those, who, in murdering this hoary culprit, were heard to say that they would handle his master worse, and would have minced his flesh, and have had every one a bit of him. This is one more instance of the political cannibalism of the mob. The fate of Dr. Lambe served for a ballad, and the printer and singer were laid in Newgate.* Buckingham, it seems, for a moment contemplated his own fate in his wretched creature’s, more particularly as another omen obtruded itself on his attention ; for on

* ‘ Rushworth has preserved a burthen of one of these Songs.

Let Charles and George do what they can,
The Duke shall die like Dr. Lambe.

And on the assassination of the Duke, I find two lines in a MS. letter.

The Shepherd’s struck, the sheep are fled !
For want of Lamb, the Wolf is dead.’

the very day of Dr. Lambe's murder, his own portrait in the Council-chamber was seen to have fallen out of its frame; a circumstance as awful, in that age of omens, as the portrait that walked from its frame in the Castle of Otranto, but perhaps more easily accounted for."

"About this time a libel was taken down from a post in Coleman-street by a constable, and carried to the Lord Mayor, who ordered it to be delivered to none but his Majesty. Of this libel the manuscript letter contains the following particulars:

"Who rules the Kingdom? The King.

Who rules the King? The Duke.

Who rules the Duke? The Devil."

"Let the Duke look to it; for they intend shortly to use him worse than they did the Doctor; and if things be not shortly reformed they will work a reformation themselves."

"The only advice the offended King suggested, was, to set a double watch every night!"

It is a great descent from Dukes and Kings, but we must make room for a short extract from the article respecting our old friend Robinson Crusoe. "This picture of self-education, self-inquiry, self-happiness," remarks Mr. D'Israeli, "is scarcely a fiction, although it includes all the magic of romance; and it is not a mere narrative of truth, since it displays all the forcible genius of one of the most original minds our literature can boast."

The reception which this extraordinary production has met with, is somewhat singular. In the author's life-time it was considered as a mere idle romance; after his death, it was supposed to have been pillaged from the papers of Alexander Selkirk, in disparagement alike of De Foe's honour and his genius. The adventures of Selkirk were first published in the year 1712, in the *Voyages of Woodes Rogers, and Edward Cooke*, by whom he was found on the desert island of Juan Fernandez. This interesting narrative is given entire in Captain Burney's fourth volume of "*Voyages of Discovery to the South Sea*," and it is also to be found in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

"The year after this account was published, Selkirk and his adventures attracted the notice of Steele, who was not likely to pass unobserved a man and a story so strange and so new. In his paper of "The Englishman," Dec. 1713, he communicates further particulars of Selkirk. Steele became acquainted with him: he says, that "he should discern that he had been much separated from company, from his aspect and gesture. There was a strong but cheerful seriousness in his looks, and a certain disregard to the ordinary things about him, as if he had been sunk in thought. The man frequently bewailed his return to the world, which could not, he said, with all its enjoyments, restore him to the tranquility of his solitude." Steele adds another curious change in this wild man, which occurred some time after he had seen him. "Though I had frequently conversed with him, after

a few month's absence, he met me in the street, and though he spoke to me, I could not recollect that I had seen him. Familiar converse in this town had taken off the loneliness of his aspect, and quite altered the air of his face." De Foe could not fail of being struck by these interesting particulars of the character of Selkirk; but probably it was another observation of Steele, which threw the germ of Robinson Crusoe into the mind of De Foe. "It was matter of great curiosity to hear him, as he was a man of sense, give an account of the *different resolutions in his own mind in that long solitude.*"

Even the personage Friday 'is not a mere coinage of the brain: a Mosquito Indian described by Dampier was the prototype.'—Robinson Crusoe was published in 1719, seven years after the publication of Selkirk's adventures. Selkirk, therefore, could obviously have no claims on De Foe.

'He had only supplied the man of genius with that which lies open to all; and which no one had; or perhaps could have converted into the wonderful story we possess, but De Foe himself. Had De Foe not written Robinson Crusoe, the name and story of Selkirk had been passed over like others of the same sort; yet Selkirk has the merit of having detailed his own history, in a manner so interesting as to have attracted the notice of Steele, and to have inspired the genius of De Foe. After this, the originality of Robinson Crusoe will no longer be suspected, and the idle tale which Dr. Beattie has repeated, of Selkirk having supplied the materials of his story to De Foe, from which our Author borrowed his work, and published for his own profit, will be finally put to rest.'

There is an article curious enough, on that race of singular mendicants known by the name of *Tom o' Bedlams*. These poor creatures were roving lunatics, who were, in fact, 'out-door pensioners of Bedlam, sent about to live as well as they could 'with the pittance granted them by the Hospital.' This is the assumed character of Edgar in *King Lear*, and the fact accounts for the number of mad songs which are to be found in our ancient poetry. Bishop Percy has preserved no fewer than six in his "*Reliques.*" Mr. D'Israeli presents to us one from a very scarce collection, which, when read with a reference to the personated character, will appear worthy of preservation for its fantastic humour. We extract a few verses.

'A TOM-A-BEDLAM SONG.

'From the Hag and hungry goblin
That into rags would rend ye,
All the spirits that stand
By the naked man,
In the book of moons defend ye!
That of your five sound senses
You never be forsaken;
Nor travel from

Yourselves with Tom
Abroad, to beg your bacon.

CHORUS.

- Nor never sing any food and feeding,
Money, drink, or cloathing;
Come dame or maid,
Be not afraid,
For Tom will injure nothing.
- Of thirty bare years have I
Twice twenty been enraged;
And of forty been
Three times fifteen
In durance soundly caged.
In the lovely lofts of Bedlam,
In stubble soft and dainty,
Brave bracelets strong,
Sweet whips ding, dong,
And a wholesome hunger plenty.
- I know more than Apollo;
For, oft when he lies sleeping,
I behold the stars
At mortal wars,
And the rounded welkin weeping;
The moon embraces her shepherd,
And the Queen of Love her warrior;
While the first does horn
The stars of the morn,
And the next the heavenly farrier.
- With a heart of furious fancies,
Whereof I am commander;
With a burning spear,
And a horse of air,
To the wilderness I wander;
With a knight of ghosts and shadows,
I summoned am to Tourney:
Ten leagues beyond
The wide world's end;
Methinks it is no journey!

We must now take leave of this amusing volume, and ingratitude to the compiler, we wish to part with him in good humour. We cannot, however, but express our regret that his irreligious prejudices should so often have triumphed over his candour and his better judgement and that he should ever have thought it expedient to testify his attachment to literature and the arts, by calumniating those whom he is pleased to consider as their natural enemies. We confess we are Puritanical enough to object against his very motto, as carrying with it the air of libertinism; but

Mr. D'Israeli is far enough indeed from being a rigid moralist; he is evidently, to use his own expression, a 'man of *sensation*,' whose law is impulse, and whose God is the world.

Art. XII. *Modern Greece*. A Poem, 8vo. pp. 67. London, 1817.

THIS is not to be passed over among the neatly sewed and well covered pamphlets, that are every now and then put forth under the protection of the Albemarle-street publisher. It is the production of a man of genuine talent and feeling. The subject is not new: we anticipate the train of thought inevitably suggested to the mind of the poet. Lord Byron has in a few powerful stanzas told us the whole tale of Modern Greece, and laid the exanimate corpse of its fallen grandeur before us. All that a subsequent writer could do, was to pronounce the *oraison funébre*, relying upon the eloquence of verse to impart a sustained-interest to the simple and obvious reflections appropriate to the theme. The present poem, is in fact, nothing more than a single and familiar thought newly set to a richly ornamental harmony. It extends to a hundred and one stanzas, unrelieved by incident, a continuous stream of descriptive poetry. The effect of this upon the reader, as a whole, will depend upon how long his mind can hold breath; but we shall have no difficulty in extracting passages of impressive beauty.

Chateaubriand mentions the emigration of the natives of the Morea to different parts of Asia, and even to the woods of Florida. 'Vain hope!' he exclaims, 'the exile finds pachas and 'cadis in the sands of Jordan and in the deserts of Palmyra.' The Author has turned this thought to a good advantage.

'Lo! to the scenes of fiction's wildest tales,
Her own bright East, thy son, Morea! flies,
To seek repose midst rich, romantic vales,
Whose incense mounts to Asia's vivid skies,
There shall he rest?—Alas! his hopes in vain
Guide to the sun-clad regions of the palm,
Peace dwells not now on oriental plain,
Though earth is fruitfulness, and air is balm,
And the sad wanderer finds but lawless foes,
Where patriarchs reign'd of old, in pastoral repose.

'But thou, fair world! whose fresh unsullied charms
Welcomed Columbus from the western wave,
Wilt thou receive the wanderer to thine arms,
The lost descendant of the immortal brave?
Amidst the wild magnificence of shades
That o'er thy floods their twilight-grandeur cast,
In the green depth of thine untrodden glades,
Shall he not rear his bower of peace at last?

Yes! thou hast many a lone, majestic scene,
Shrined in primæval woods, were despot ne'er hath been.

' There, by some lake, whose blue expansive breast
Bright from afar, an inland ocean, gleams,
Girt with vast solitudes, profusely drest
In tints like those that float o'er poet's dreams;
Or where some flood from pine-clad mountain pours
Its might of waters, glittering in their foam,
Midst the rich verdure of its wooded shores,
The exiled Greek hath fix'd his sylvan home:
So deeply lone, that round the wild retreat
Scarce have the paths been trod by Indian huntsman's feet.

' The forests are around him in their pride,
The green savannas, and the mighty waves;
And isles of flowers, bright-floating o'er the tide,
That images the fairy worlds it laves,
And stillness, and luxuriance—o'er his head
The ancient cedars wave their peopled bowers,
On high the palms their graceful foliage spread,
Cinctured with roses the magnolia towers,
And from those green arcades a thousand tones
Wake with each breeze, whose voice through Nature's temple
moans.

' And there, no traces, left by brighter days,
For glory lost may wake a sigh of grief,
Some grassy mound perchance may meet his gaze,
The lone memorial of an Indian chief.
There man not yet hath marked the boundless plain
With marble records of his fame and power;
The forest is his everlasting fane,
The palm his monument, the rock his tower.
Th' eternal torrent, and the giant tree,
Remind him but that they, like him, are wildly free.

' But doth the exile's heart serenely there
In sunshine dwell?—Ah! when was exile blest?
When did bright scenes, clear heavens, or summer-air,
Chase from his soul the fever of unrest?
—There is a heart-sick weariness of mood,
That like slow poison wastes the vital glow,
And shrines itself in mental solitude,
An uncomplaining and a nameless woe,
That coldly smiles midst pleasure's brightest ray,
As the chill glacier's peak reflects the flush of day.

' Such grief is theirs, who, fixed on foreign shore,
Sigh for the spirit of their native gales,
As pines the seaman, midst the ocean's roar,
For the green earth, with all its woods and vales.
Thus feels thy child, whose memory dwells with thee,
Loved Greece! all sunk and blighted as thou art:

Mr. D'Israeli is far enough indeed from being a rigid moralist; he is evidently, to use his own expression, a 'man of *sensation*,' whose law is impulse, and whose God is the world.

Art. XII. *Modern Greece*. A Poem, 8vo. pp. 67. London, 1817.

THIS is not to be passed over among the neatly sewed and well covered pamphlets, that are every now and then put forth under the protection of the Albemarle-street publisher. It is the production of a man of genuine talent and feeling. The subject is not new: we anticipate the train of thought inevitably suggested to the mind of the poet. Lord Byron has in a few powerful stanzas told us the whole tale of Modern Greece, and laid the exanimate corpse of its fallen grandeur before us. All that a subsequent writer could do, was to pronounce the *oraison funébre*, relying upon the eloquence of verse to impart a sustained-interest to the simple and obvious reflections appropriate to the theme. The present poem, is in fact, nothing more than a single and familiar thought newly set to a richly ornamental harmony. It extends to a hundred and one stanzas, unrelieved by incident, a continuous stream of descriptive poetry. The effect of this upon the reader, as a whole, will depend upon how long his mind can hold breath; but we shall have no difficulty in extracting passages of impressive beauty.

Chateaubriand mentions the emigration of the natives of the Morea to different parts of Asia, and even to the woods of Florida. 'Vain hope!' he exclaims, 'the exile finds pachas and 'cadis in the sands of Jordan and in the deserts of Palmyra.' The Author has turned this thought to a good advantage.

'Lo! to the scenes of fiction's wildest tales,
Her own bright East, thy son, Morea! flies,
To seek repose midst rich, romantic vales,
Whose incense mounts to Asia's vivid skies,
There shall he rest?—Alas! his hopes in vain
Guide to the sun-clad regions of the palm,
Peace dwells not now on oriental plain,
Though earth is fruitfulness, and air is balm,
And the sad wanderer finds but lawless foes,
Where patriarchs reign'd of old, in pastoral repose.

'But thou, fair world! whose fresh unsullied charms
Welcomed Columbus from the western wave,
Wilt thou receive the wanderer to thine arms,
The lost descendant of the immortal brave?
Amidst the wild magnificence of shades
That o'er thy floods their twilight-grandeur cast,
In the green depth of thine untrodden glades,
Shall he not rear his bower of peace at last?

Yes! thou hast many a lone, majestic scene,
Shrined in primæval woods, were despot ne'er hath been.

' There, by some lake, whose blue expansive breast
Bright from afar, an inland ocean, gleams,
Girt with vast solitudes, profusely drest
In tints like those that float o'er poet's dreams;
Or where some flood from pine-clad mountain pours
Its might of waters, glittering in their foam,
Midst the rich verdure of its wooded shores,
The exiled Greek hath fix'd his sylvan home:
So deeply lone, that round the wild retreat
Scarce have the paths been trod by Indian huntsman's feet.

' The forests are around him in their pride,
The green savannas, and the mighty waves;
And isles of flowers, bright-floating o'er the tide,
That images the fairy worlds it laves,
And stillness, and luxuriance—o'er his head
The ancient cedars wave their peopled bowers,
On high the palms their graceful foliage spread,
Cinctured with roses the magnolia towers,
And from those green arcades a thousand tones
Wake with each breeze, whose voice through Nature's temple
moans.

' And there, no traces, left by brighter days,
For glory lost may wake a sigh of grief,
Some grassy mound perchance may meet his gaze,
The lone memorial of an Indian chief.
There man not yet hath marked the boundless plain
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The forest is his everlasting fane,
The palm his monument, the rock his tower.
'Th' eternal torrent, and the giant tree,
Remind him but that they, like him, are wildly free.

' But doth the exile's heart serenely there
In sunshine dwell?—Ah! when was exile blest?
When did bright scenes, clear heavens, or summer-air,
Chase from his soul the fever of unrest?
—There is a heart-sick weariness of mood,
That like slow poison wastes the vital glow,
And shrines itself in mental solitude,
An uncomplaining and a nameless woe,
That coldly smiles midst pleasure's brightest ray,
As the chill glacier's peak reflects the flush of day.

' Such grief is theirs, who, fixed on foreign shore,
Sigh for the spirit of their native gales,
As pines the seaman, midst the ocean's roar,
For the green earth, with all its woods and vales.
Thus feels thy child, whose memory dwells with thee,
Loved Greece! all sunk and blighted as thou art:

Though thought and step in western wilds be free,
 Yet thine are still the day-dreams of his heart ;
 The deserts spread between, the billows foam,
 Thou, distant and in chains, art yet his spirit's home.' pp. 6—10.

In the following passage, the transition from the degraded and degrading empire of the Turkish sovereigns of Greece, to the romantic era of the Caliphate, is very happily introduced. After comparing the column of the mosque rising amid the landscape 'a landmark of slavery,' to the dark upas tree, the poet exclaims :

' Far other influence pour'd the Crescent's light,
 O'er conquer'd realms, in ages past away ;
 Full and alone it beam'd, intensely bright,
 While distant climes in midnight darkness lay.
 Then rose th' Alhambra, with its founts and shades,
 Fair marble halls, alcoves, and orange bowers :
 Its sculptured lions, richly wrought arcades,
 Aërial pillars, and enchanted towers :
 Light, splendid, wild, as some Arabian tale
 Would picture fairy domes, that fleet before the gale.

' Then foster'd genius lent each Caliph's throne
 Lustre barbaric pomp could ne'er attain ;
 And stars unnumber'd o'er the orient shone,
 Bright as that Pleiad, spher'd in Mecca's fane.
 From Bagdat's palaces the choral strains
 Rose and re-echoed to the desert's bound,
 And Science, wooed on Egypt's burning plains,
 Rear'd her majestic head with glory crown'd ;
 And the wild Muses breathed romantic lore,
 From Syria's palmy groves to Andalusia's shore.

' Those years have past in radiance—they have past,
 As sinks the day-star in the tropic main ;
 His parting beams no soft reflection cast,
 They burn—are quench'd—and deepest shadows reign.
 And Fame and Science have not left a trace,
 In the vast regions of the Moslem's power,—
 Regions, to intellect a desert space,
 A wild without a fountain or a flower,
 Where towers oppression midst the deepening glooms,
 As dark and lone ascends the cypress midst the tombs.

' Where now thy shrines, Eleusis ! where thy fane,
 Of fearful visions, mysteries wild and high ?
 The pomp of rites, the sacrificial train,
 The long procession's awful pageantry ?
 Quench'd is the torch of Ceres—all around
 Decay hath spread the stillness of her reign,
 There never more shall choral hymns resound,
 O'er the hush'd earth and solitary main ;
 Whose wave from Salamis deserted flows,
 To bathe a silent shore of desolate repose.

And oh! ye secret and terrific powers,
Dark oracles! in depth of groves that dwelt;
How are they sunk, the altars of your bowers,
Where superstition trembled as she knelt!
Ye, the unknown, the viewless ones! that made
The elements your voice, the wind and wave;
Spirits! whose influence darken'd many a shade,
Mysterious visitants of fount and cave!
How long your power the awe-struck nations sway'd,
How long earth dreamt of you, and shudderingly obey'd!
' And say, what marvel, in those early days,
While yet the light of heaven-born truth was not;
If man around him cast a fearful gaze,
Peopling with shadowy powers each dell and grot?
Awful is nature in her savage forms,
Her solemn voice commanding in its might,
And mystery then was in the rush of storms,
The gloom of woods, the majesty of night;
And mortals heard fate's language in the blast,
And rear'd your forest-shrines, ye phantoms of the past!

* * * * *
' Thebes, Corinth, Argos!—ye, renown'd of old,
Where are your chiefs of high romantic name?
How soon the tale of ages may be told!
A page, a verse, records the fall of fame,
The work of centuries—we gaze on you,
Oh cities! once the glorious and the free,
The lofty tales that charm'd our youth renew,
And wondering ask, if these their scenes could be?
Search for the classic fane, the regal tomb,
And find the mosque alone—a record of their doom!'

Some of the most spirited stanzas in the poem are those which contain the apostrophe to Athens. The Elgin marbles, which are described with not less correctness and skill than enthusiasm, naturally lead the poet to advert to the influence which the study of these works is adapted to have upon our own artists, and he calls upon England, in conclusion, 'to be what Athens e'er has been.'

Art. XII. *The Arctic Expeditions.* A Poem. By Miss Porden. 8vo. pp. 30. 1818.

WE should have noticed this poem before. Perused immediately after 'the very able and delightful article' in the *Quarterly Review*, which to a subject half-science, half speculation, succeeded in communicating the illusive interest of romance and the reality of history, it would have accorded well with the reader's feelings. But now, alas! the Expeditions have returned, and the day-dream is ended! Lost Greenland is

not found, and Baffin's Bay may still be written *Bay* by our geographers. What is worse, the predictions of the Quarterly Reviewers have failed to do credit to their weather-wisdom : instead of the chill and wintry season with which they threatened us, we have had a summer of more than ordinary fertility and pleasantness. Our corn-fields, our orchards, and our hop-grounds have teemed with wealth and luxury ; but as to our vines, which, we were told, are, some of these days, to flourish again as they did in the time of our ancestors, the emigrant icebergs have not travelled southward far enough, or the polar barrier has not been sufficiently broken up, to admit of our having that gratification *as yet*. Devon and Hereford are again flowing with cider, Scotland may boast of her John Barleycorn, and the honest Cambrian may rejoice over his Cwrw ; but we citizens must still be content, as heretofore, to be indebted for our port and our raisins to the Dons, and to make up the deficiency of better articles, with currant juice and malt wine. The hope of once more realizing the descriptions of spring given by our elder poets, is now again indefinitely deferred, and those who wish to descant on the vernal beauties of the Queen of the Seasons, must, as we apprehend *they* did, catch the echo of Greek or Roman strains, and clothe with the charms of Arcadian or Sicilian skies, the cold and capricious clime of a higher latitude.

We regret, we say, that we have deferred our notice of Miss Porden's version of the pleasant soothsayings of the Secretary to the Admiralty, till they have lost much of their *effect*, or rather, till they have acquired the power of exciting a different effect from what they were intended to produce. This is not the fault of the poetess, who has managed her subject *secundum artem*, and discovers no small skill in versification. Her production may still claim to rank with any of the prize-poems that either Oxford or Cambridge are accustomed to furnish ; and if she might without fear enter the lists in competing for the laurel wreath, the Notes to the present poem, not less than those appended to her former production, discover an ambition of scientific attainments. We think that the lectures at the Royal Institution, to which Miss Porden refers, are proved by the present instance, to be of no small service to the Public.

Without further preface, we shall proceed to lay before our readers a specimen of the poem itself, as the best method now left us, of apologizing for our unfortunate dilatoriness. Adopting the chimerical expectation of discovering the lost colony on the eastern coast of Greenland, the Author exclaims :

‘ The barrier bursts—and Britain, first of all
Wherever perils threat, or duties call,
Sends forth her heroes.—What shall be their joy,
When first that long lost country dims the sky :
What their’s the melancholy task to trace
The last sad relics of a perish’d race ;
Or should they live to bless the niggard spot,
Pour on their ears a language half forgot ;
Teach them again to till the barren sod,
And praise once more a long neglected God ;
Again their light canoes shall sail, again
Shall milder Summers rear their golden grain :
Nay, long by frosts opprest,—our happier clime
Again shall hail returning Summer’s prime ;
Its ruddy grapes shall lavish Autumn bring,
And all Sicilia’s sweets adorn the Spring.’

Then occur two unfortunate lines, which must be omitted in the next edition.

‘ No day-dreams these of Bard’s fantastic brain,
This summer’s lapse shall realize the strain.’

The succeeding lines display talents of no contemptible order. We do not recommend the fair Authoress to ‘ resume’ *this* theme, but we pledge ourselves to do her justice, in the event of her venturing upon one of a safer kind, and more permanent interest.

‘ Go forth, brave Seamen, reach the fated shore,
Go! doomed to honours never reaped before,
Nor fear strange tales that brooding ignorance teems,
Wild fictions, borrowed from Arabian dreams ;
Fear not, while months of dreary darkness roll,
To stand self-centred on the attractive Pole ;
Or find some gulf, deep, turbulent, and dark,
Earth’s mighty mouth ! suck in the struggling bark ;
Fear not, the victims of magnetic force,
To hang, arrested in your midmost course ;
Your prows drawn downward and your sterns in air,
To waste with cold, and grief, and famine, there :
Strange fancies these—but real ills are near,
Not clothed in all the picturesque of fear, }
Which makes its wild distortions wildly dear,
Nor like the rush of fight, when burning zeal
Forbids the heart to quail, the limbs to feel—
Long patient suffering, when the frozen air
Seems almost solid, and the painful glare
Of endless snow destroys the dazzled sight ;
When fatal slumber comes with dreadful weight ;
When every limb is pain, or deadlier yet,
When those chill’d limbs the sense of pain forget ;

Awful it is to gaze on shoreless seas,
But more to view those restless billows freeze
One solid plain, or when like mountains piled,
Whole leagues in length, or when like mountains piled,
In dreadful war the floating icebergs rush,
Horrent with trees that kindle as they crush;
The flickering compass points with fitful force,
And not a star in heaven directs your course,
But the broad sun through all the endless day,
Wheels changeless round, sole beacon of your way;
Or through a night more dreadful, doomed to roam
Unknowing where, and hopeless of a home.
Dense fogs, dark floating on the frozen tide,
Veil the clear stars that yet might be your guide;
And vainly conscious that for weeks on high,
The moon shines glorious in a cloudless sky;
For you she shines not, doom'd to wait in fear
Some glacier, fatal in its wild career,
That comes immense in shadowy whiteness, known
By the damp chill that wraps your heart, alone;
Or deadlier still, in silence hemm'd around
By gathering ice, in firmer fetters bound:
Darkling you ply your saws with fruitless toil,
Yourselves the nucleus of a mighty isle;
While the red meteors, quivering through the sky,
Disclose the dangers now too late to fly,
And light the bears that urge their dangerous way,
And famish'd growl, impatient of their prey.

' Yet Britons! Conquerors on the subject deep,
Where'er its islands rise, its waters sweep,
Fired by your father's deathless deeds, defy
The frozen ocean, and the flaming sky;
Secure, though not one vessel speck the wave,
One Eye beholds you, and *One Arm* shall save;
That *He*, who gives those mighty agents force,
Can guard his creatures and can stay their course;
And as, when parted on those lonely realms,
To different stars you turn your faithful helms,
On to your several quests undaunted press,
While courage seeks, but prudence wins, success:
Then should *that Power*, whose smile your daring crown'd
Again unite you on the vast profound,
Yourselves sole sovereigns of that awful zone,
Sole friends, sole rivals, on those seas unknown;
How shall your tongues on past deliverance dwell,
What joy, what praise, in every heart shall swell!

ART. XIII. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

* * * *Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the press, will oblige the Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending Information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the Public, if consistent with its Plan.*

The Rev. John Griffin has in the press, A third edition in 12mo. of his *Memoirs of Captain James Wilson*, considerably improved, and ornamented with a portrait of Capt. Wilson.

An improved edition in 2 vols. 8vo. of Schmidius' *Concordance to the Greek New Testament*, from the Glasgow University Press, will appear early in January—This is a work of inestimable value to the student of the Greek Testament, and cannot fail to meet with an encouragement.

In the press. *The Life and Adventures of Antar*, a celebrated Bedowen Chief, Warrior, and Poet, who flourished a few years prior to the Mahomedan Era. Now first translated from the original Arabic, by Terriek Hamilton, Esq. Oriental Secretary to the British Embassy to Constantinople. Crown 8vo.

The Rev. Thomas Watson, Author of *Intimations and Evidences of a Future State*, &c. will shortly publish, *Various Views of Death and its circumstances*, intended to illustrate the wisdom and beneyolence of the divine administration in conducting mankind through this awful and interesting event.

In the press, and shortly will be published, *Durovernum, or Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Canterbury*, with other Poems. By Arthur Brooke, Esq.

Miss Spence, Author of *Sketches of the Manners, Customs, and Scenery of Scotland*, &c. &c. is preparing for publication, a new work, entitled "*A Traveller's Tale of the last Century.*"

Shortly will be published in one vol. 8vo. *Practical Observations on the Construction and Principles of Instruments for the removal of Muscular contraction of the Limbs, Distortion of the Spine, and every other species of Personal Deformity.* By John Felton, (late of

Hinckley,) *Surgical Mechanist to the General Institution, for the relief of Bodily Deformities, Birmingham.*

The Rev. Dr. Edward Maltby, has in the press, two octavo volumes of *Sermons*.

The Rev. Sir John Head, Bart. is printing in an octavo volume, *Discourses on Various Subjects.*

Mr. Parkinson is engaged in preparing for the press, "*An Introduction to the Study of Fossils.*"

Mr. Hughes has in the press, a second volume of *Horæ Britannicæ, or Studies in Ancient British History*, containing various *Disquisitions on the National and Religious Antiquities of Great Britain*; this volume will complete the work, and will appear about Christmas.

About to be published, *Parliamentary Letters, and other Poems*, by Q in the Corner, in foolscap 8vo.

Swiss Scenery from designs by Major Cockburn, of the Royal Artillery. The first number of this work, to be completed in ten, will be published on the first of January, containing five engravings.

Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland; the first part of this splendid work will appear early in the next year, containing five engravings, by Cooke, Pye, Le Keux, &c. from drawings by Messrs. Turner, Calcott, Thomson, Blore, &c. &c. and *Historical Illustrations*, by Walter Scott, Esq.

Italian Scenery, Number 5, from drawings, by E. F. Batty, containing five views in Rome, is now ready for publication.

Mr. T. Faulkner, of Chelsea, is printing the *History and Antiquities of Kensington*, interspersed with biographical anecdotes of royal and distinguished personages, and illustrated by engravings.

The Rev. A. Ranken will soon publish volumes 4, 5, and 6, of the History of France, continuing the History from the earliest accounts to the death of Henry III. in 1589.

The Rev. Archdeacon Nares is printing, in a quarto volume, Illustrations of difficult Words and Phrases occurring in the English Writers of the age of queen Elizabeth.

In a few days will be published, The importance of peace and union in the Churches of Christ; and the best means of promoting them, a Sermon preached before the Associated Independent Churches of Hampshire, by Samuel Sleigh.

A Work designed as a proper companion to the Comforts of Old Age, is now in the press, and will be published in a few days, called the "Enjoyments of Youth;" the object of the Author of this small work, the scenery of which is laid in genteel life, is to impress upon the minds of the young, the pleasures of Religion and Morality, in contradistinction, to the insanity of the customary pursuits, (which are delineated) of the well bred young of both sexes in modern days; the story is told, *not* in the way of dry and abstract axioms, but by scenes (in the Vicar of Wakefield style) in which all or most may be supposed to participate in their progress through life.

The Rev. H. G. White will soon publish, in foolscap octavo, Letters from a Father to his Son in an office under government.

The Rev. E. W. Grinfield is printing, in an octavo volume. Sermons on the Parables and Miracles of Jesus Christ.

Matthew Henry's Scripture Catechism, which has been out of print many years, is reprinting in a small pocket volume, and will be ready the beginning of the month.

An Account of the Life, Ministry, and Writings of the Rev. John Fawcett, D. D. 54 years Minister of the Gospel, at Waingate and Hebden Bridge, near Halifax, containing a variety of particulars not generally known relative, to the revival and progress of Religion in many parts of Yorkshire and Lancashire, &c. will be shortly published by his Son.

In the press, Charenton; or the Follies of the Age, a Philosophical Romance, translated from the French of M. Lourdoueix. Charenton is well known to be the public establishment, near Paris, for insane persons. The Author has chosen it for the scene of adventures, and some

supposed inhabitants of it are his Dramatis Personæ. This work gives a view of the political state of France, of its parties, of the natural tendency of the age to the general interests of mankind, and of the ultimate object of civilization, in its silent progress towards universal good.

Dr. Henry is printing a new and improved edition of his Elements of Chemistry.

Dr. Bostock will shortly publish the History and Present State of Galvanism.

The Rev. James Townley, Author of Biblical Anecdotes, has nearly ready for the press, Illustrations of Biblical Literature: exhibiting the History and Fate of the sacred writings from the earliest period to the present, including Biographical notices of eminent Translators of the Bible, and other Biblical Scholars. The work will be interspersed with Historical Sketches of Ecclesiastical Characters: the different substances on which writing has been successfully inscribed: Illuminated MSS: Ancient Bookbinding: the origin of Printing: Bibliomancy Mysteries, and Miracle Plays: *Indices Expurgatorii*, &c. &c. It will also be accompanied with fac-similes of several Biblical MSS. and other engravings.

In the press. Scripture Costume, exhibited in a Series of Engravings, accurately coloured in imitation of the drawings representing the Principal Personages mentioned in the Old and New Testament, drawn under the superintendence of B. West, Esq. P. R. A. By R. Satchwell. Accompanied with Biographical and Historical Sketches. Imperial 4to.

Mr. Chase, of Cambridge, has in the press, a work on Antinomianism, in which he has endeavoured to convict the abettors of that heresy, of hostility to the doctrines of Divine Grace.

Sir Gilbert Blane, Physician Extraordinary to His Majesty, has in the press, and nearly ready for publication, a Treatise on Medical Logic, founded on practice, with facts and observations.

Mr. John Power, Surgeon and Accoucheur, has in the press, a Treatise on Midwifery, developing a new principle, by which labour is greatly shortened, and the sufferings of the patient alleviated.

Shortly will be published, a new edition revised, of the Memoirs of Mr. Richard Morris, many years Pastor of the Baptist Church, at Amerham, Bucks, by the Rev. B. Godwin, Great Missenden.

in the press, and will be published in a few days, an Appeal to the public : or Religious Liberty not infringed in the Case of the Old Meeting House, Wolverhampton : with an Appendix, in which a full account will be given of the late violent proceedings of the Unitarians against Messrs. Steward and Mander.

In the press, and speedily will be published, The Fountain of Life opened ; or, a display of Christ in his essential and mediatorial Glory. By the late

John Flavel. To be printed uniform with Beddome's Short Discourses.

Also the whole Works of the Rev. John Flavel, with a fine portrait of the Author, forming six large volumes, in demy octavo.

Mr. Campbell's long expected Biographical and Critical Lives of the British Poets, with illustrative specimens, will certainly be published in December.

Art. XIV. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoirs of the public and private life of John Howard, the Philanthropist, compiled from his own diary, his confidential letters, &c. By James Baldwin Brown, Esq. of the Inner Temple, Barrister at Law, 4to. 2l. 5s.

A Sequel to Mrs. Trimmer's Introduction to the Knowledge of Nature. By Sarah Trimmer, 18mo. 2s. 6d. bound.

A New Theoretical and Practical Grammar of the French Language, with numerous instructive Exercises. By C. Gros, Author and Editor of many valuable School Books, 12mo. 5s. bound.

GEOGRAPHY.

The Imperial Atlas : containing distinct Maps of the Empires, Kingdoms, and States of the World, with the Boundaries of Europe, as settled by the Treaty of Paris, and Congress of Vienna, to which are added, the most useful Maps of Ancient Geography, accompanied by an Outline of Physical Geography, &c. &c. By James Millar, M. D. Editor of the Encyclopædia Edinensis, the last Edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, Lecturer on Natural History, &c. &c. royal 4to. 2l. 10s. half-bound.

HISTORY.

The History of the City of Dublin, from the earliest Accounts, to the present Time: containing its Annals, Antiquities, Ecclesiastical History, and Charters ; its present Extent, Public Buildings, Schools, Institutions, &c. To which are added, Biographical Notices of Eminent Men, and copious Appendices of its Population, Revenue, Commerce, and Literature. By the late John Warburton, Esq. Deputy Keeper of the Records in Birmingham Tower,

the late Rev. James Whitelaw, and the Rev. R. Walsh, M. R. I. A. 2 vols. 4to. illustrated by numerous views of the principal Buildings, Maps of the City, &c.

A Narrative of the Expedition which sailed from England in the Winter of 1817, under the command of Colonels Campbell, Gilmore, Wilson, and Hippenley, to join the South American Patriots ; comprising an account of the delusive Engagements upon which it was fitted out ; the Proceedings, Distresses, and ultimate Fate of the Troops ; with Observations and authentic Information, elucidating the real Character of the Contest, as respects the Mode of Warfare, and present state of the Armies ; including a Detail of the difficulties encountered by the Author, after his Brigade had been disbanded, and put ashore on the Island of Saint Bartholomew ; and of his ultimately being compelled to work his Passage to England, as a Seaman on board a West-Indiaman. By James Hackett, First Lieutenant in the late Artillery Brigade. 8vo. 5s. 6d.

Historical, Military, and Picturesque Observations on Portugal. Illustrated by 75 coloured plates : including authentic plans of the Sieges and Battles fought in the Peninsula, during the late War. By George Landmann, Lieutenant-colonel in the Corps of Royal Engineers. 2 vols. medium folio, 15l. 15s.

MEDICAL.

Practical Observations on the Nature and Treatment of Marasmus, and of those Disorders allied to it, which may be strictly denominated Bilious. By Joseph Ayre, M. D. Member of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh, one of the Physicians to the General Infirmary at Hull, &c. 8vo. 7s. boards.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Friend; a Series of Essays, in three volumes. By S. T. Coleridge, a new edition, 11. 11s. 6d.

Vindiciæ Wykehamicæ; or, a Vindication of Winchester College. In a Letter to Henry Brougham, Esq. M. P. occasioned by his Inquiry into Abuses of Charity. By the Rev. W. L. Bowles, 2s.

Nightmare Abbey. By the Author of *Headlong Hall*, 12mo. 6s. 6d.

POETRY.

The Anglo-Cambrian: a Poem, in Four Books. By M. Linwood. 5s. sewed.

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